

Mennonite Historical Bulletin

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The Story of Hans Haslibacher, the Swiss-Anabaptist Teacher, Martyred 1571

One day in the late summer of 1571 a peculiar group of travelers was making its way from the Castle of Trachselwald down toward Grünenmatt, through Ramsei and the hills of Weggisen, destined for Bern. An armed man was leading a horse by its reins. Behind the rider strode a second armed man. Upon the horse there sat a bearded old man with a large slouch hat on his head and a rough cloak over his shoulders. Whoever gazed into his face noticed that here was a man in whom an unshakable conviction fused with a rare love; a man who would permit not one iota to be subtracted from his faith, yet whose bearing in his relations with his fellowmen permitted the expression of love alone. It was the elderly Hans Haslibacher, the Anabaptist teacher from Haslibach, near Sumiswald. All the things he had already suffered on account of his faith! He had been imprisoned. Then he was banished. From his relatives the provincial governor collected a fine totaling five-hundred pounds, undoubtedly the sum of his wealth. But the elderly Haslibacher could not remain quiet while away from home. He felt led to go to his brethren in the Emmental to comfort and strengthen them. Although the erstwhile esteemed farmer of means was now poor and without rights, how could this harm him? His rights of citizenship he had gained in a different world; neither moth nor rust could touch his riches. One more time he entered the house that had once been his own home; his

son who took him in had to pay a stiff fine as punishment. Only too soon the governor's constables appeared from the dark fortress of Trachselwald and the elderly Hans once again was locked up like a dangerous criminal. How often had he already needed to travel to Bern to defend himself before the austere authorities! Today Hans Haslibacher is taking this trip for the last time. We see in our imagination here and there a farmer, who, while resting on his rake and gazing at the old man, is bearing a secret grudge against the ruling nobility in Bern. We also see how from a thicket a bearded Anabaptist brother is watching and waiting, to see the beloved teacher one last time. Now, now—for the very last time—he has seen him. Tears flow over his rough cheeks. Something wells up overpoweringly in his heart, but no feelings of revenge. There is no longer

room for vengeance in the soul of a true Anabaptist. In the place of vengeance must come love into the heart. Haslibacher was led into the capital and incarcerated. Repeatedly men of learning came to him to bring him to a different persuasion. According to tradition he was even tortured. This is highly possible. As all attempts of conversion had no effect, Haslibacher was sentenced to death. One day in autumn 1571, after eating his hangman's feast, he was led to the place of execution. Through all this the faithful Hans remained of good courage; a smile may well have graced his face when the death-blow fell.

—From Hans Käser, "Auserkirchliche Christliche Versammlungen im Unter-Emmenthal," published in *Brosamen* (1926). Translated by L.G.



Die letzten Augenblicke des Märtyrers Hans Haslibacher.

Is War Justifiable?

A Methodist Minister's View on This Timely Subject

Paper Read Before the Ada [Ohio]
Ministerial Association
By Rev. J. W. Hill, D.D.

The answer to this question may be somewhat tentative, and the arguments presumptive, but we venture an affirmative answer. God is the judge and the source of final appeal. It matters little what men may think. We are influenced by prejudice and false sympathy, but God, the judge of all the earth, is governed by the principles of eternal justice and righteousness. In his system of divine recovery there is no infraction of justice. His rectoral character is fully sustained and the ends of his moral government secured.

In God's undertaking to save this world two factors are of necessity employed; namely, Law and Gospel. Those who reject the Gospel must settle with the Law. Moral order must be restored at whatever cost. God will turn, and overturn and overturn, until he whose right it is shall reign supreme.

In the progress of the Kingdom of God every obstruction must be swept away, and every hell gate of the devil go up in smoke. Every plant which my heavenly Father hath not planted shall be rooted up. Christ's advent was heralded by the angelic proclamation of peace on earth and good will to men. In this glorious consummation Law and Gospel go hand in hand.

When men and nations defy the Law and reject the Gospel, there is nothing left but war. In coming to bring peace Christ necessarily brought a sword. The Revelator pictures the prince of peace seated upon a white horse with a bow in his hand and a crown on his head, going forth from conquering to conquer. In this disordered world offenses must needs come and war is a moral necessity amid the complications of the conflict involved. War is in the very air we breathe. The hosts of sin and Satan are organized, armed, and equipped in a determined effort to defeat the establishment of the Kingdom of God. The armies of hell are defying the armies of the living God and the war is on.

There are things more sacred than physical life. Principles must be respected and defended at whatever cost. Better blot a nation from the face of the earth than to allow the principles of truth and righteousness to be defeated. Who will say that we paid too dearly for the principles of freedom in the destruction of American slavery? Peace is too dearly bought when right is compromised. There can be no peace until sin and rebellion are destroyed.

Sin is the dire calamity of the universe and war must be justified in so far as it is necessary in its overthrow. War can only cease when rebellion ceases. What God does is justified. He commanded the armies of Israel through the blood and carnage of the settlement of his people in Canaan. This was a war of extermination in which there was no truce and no prisoners taken.

We assume that war is justifiable not only in uprooting giant evils but

in self defense. Self-preservation is the first law of nature. The right to defend life and property is sacred and inviolable. The doctrine of non-resistance finds no support in the teaching of Christ and his followers when fairly interpreted. "I say unto you that ye resist not evil and if they smite you on one cheek turn the other," will not bear a literal interpretation.

The principle of revenge and retaliation is foreign to the spirit of the Christian religion. No man can be a consistent follower of the immaculate Jesus and nurse revenge, or hate his brother. The command to resist not evil can mean only that we are not to resist unlawfully, to take the law in our own hands and become self-constituted policemen. I am not justified in knocking out my neighbor's tooth because he has knocked mine out but I am justified in knocking out his tooth if it is necessary to prevent him from

Is War Justifiable?

Two Sides to the Question from the Standpoint of the Year 1904

The development of a national awareness "coast to coast" during the middle decades of the nineteenth century, and the flexing of the Union's brand new military muscle during the 1860's, combined and helped to lay the stage for the new expansionist spirit of Americanism at the turn of the century. "These United States" evolved into "This United States," and the USA was well on its way to becoming a major world power.

It is within this context of the turn of the century, when a strong national imperialistic mood permeated all sectors of American life, that a very direct assist from the authorities and powers-that-be seemed requisite for the fulfillment of Matthew 28:19. During this time the line between American mission and Christian mission virtually disappeared in the minds of many an American.

How did the Mennonites living in America at that time relate to this intense national mood? At every turn in American history the American Mennonites needed to rethink the question of church and state, and how the (Mennonite) church should appropriately respond to national demands.

The Mennonite voice of M. S. Steiner (1866-1911), coming from Ohio, is indicative of his brotherhood's caution about, and conscious critique of, the new American quest and its national mission, couched in the lofty and idealistic vision of "civilizing and Christianizing" the so-called undeveloped, heathenish lands and continents. Indeed, the strength of the profound essay of M. S. Steiner lies in great part in his coming to terms with the issues and realities of the times, defined politically by the recent Spanish-American War (1898).

During the early years of the twentieth century the victory fervor was fanned by the newly-perfected propaganda medium, the modern newspaper; here was yellow journalism in all its glory, the influence of which filtered into town and village.

Such is the background of an essay to which M. S. Steiner took issue, namely, an article by the Reverend J. W. Hill, D.D., originally read before the Ada (Ohio) Ministerial Association, and published in 1904 in the Ada Record. In this article J. W. Hill justifies war on the grounds that the prin-

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knocking out my tooth. I have no right to take a man's life because he has taken the life of someone else but I have a right to take his life to save my own life or that of others. I have a right to protect my family against murderers and trespassers. If I am not to resist evil then I may not resist the devil and yet I am told to resist the devil and he will flee from me. Jesus said, "If the good man of the house had known at what watch the thief would come he would have watched and not suffered his house to be broken open." This text teaches plainly the right and duty of good men to use whatever resistance is necessary to protect life and property. Unlawful resistance is all that is prohibited.

I must constantly resist evil of every kind: what is true of the individual is true of a nation. A nation is justified in fighting in self defense or for the defense of principles which

are vital to the best interests of society.

War is the pioneer of progress. As long as despotisms and tyrannies exist war is inevitable. God is governing the world for the good of the greatest number. He is sovereign and is controlled by the law of love, holiness and justice. He cannot act out of himself and hence cannot do wrong. Nothing is right because God does it, but he does it because it is right. He has to do with all the vicissitudes of men and nations. He checkmates sin and subsidizes and subordinates all the elements of the universe to the highest good of his children. He uses war to civilize and Christianize the nations. Civil magistrates are his ministers to execute wrath upon evil doers.

God cannot be outgeneraled by the arch enemy. He harnesses wicked men and nations in the accomplishments of his purposes. "Preserve me from the wicked which is thy

sword and from men which are thy hand, men of the world which have their portion in this life." This inspired prayer teaches that God uses wicked men and nations to punish more wicked men and nations and to prepare the way for the onward march of civilization and Christianity.

We have heard much criticism about the occupation of the Philippine Islands by the U.S. Government, but we have no doubt that the greatest blessing which has ever come to those people will result from the American occupation. The warfare in those islands is a mere incident in the revolution of the Philippines. The introduction of our republican form of government with its free schools and free gospel will prove the salvation of those oppressed peoples, and oncoming generations will kiss the flag which has brought to them the benign blessings of Christian civilization.

The destruction of the Spanish fleet and the liberation of Cuba bears the indelible stamp of divine approbation.

God will have a hand in the Japanese Russo War and cause the wrath of men to praise Him; and those nations will be wiser and better for the purging, and the march of Christianity will be accelerated.

Sin is self-destructive. In the last analysis, it breaks down of its own weight. By a law of spontaneous combustion when a thing or a nation becomes unendurable it explodes. Organized abominations are doomed. God says, "Thus far shalt thou go and no farther." American slavery committed suicide and died by its own hand. God's mills grind slow but sure. Law and Gospel will march hand in hand to the final conquest of the world for Christ. "Men may cry peace, peace, when there is no peace," but under the conquering march of the prince of peace the nations shall beat their swords into plowshares and their spears into pruning hooks and all nations shall take up the refrain of the angelic proclamation, with the universal shout of peace on earth and good will to men.

ciple of justice and righteousness must be defended at any cost: "Better blot a nation from the face of the earth than to allow the principles of truth and righteousness to be defeated." Furthermore, he says, God makes use of war "to civilize and Christianize the nations," and that the nation, America, is helping to effect salvation in the Philippines by introducing and enforcing the American form of republicanism:

... our republican form of government with its free schools and free gospel will prove the salvation of those oppressed peoples, and oncoming generations will kiss the flag which has brought to them the benign blessings of Christian civilization.

The whole of Hill's argument is couched in the God-ordained framework of Law and Gospel; when Law and Gospel break down within a society, Hill maintains, war is a needed—and divinely justified—means to reestablishing both Law and Gospel.

Steiner's reply, almost twice the length of Hill's article, was published in the Bluffton Leader in April 1904 (Vol. 7, No. 9). For Steiner, war neither equals peace nor does it lead to peace; for the means must be of the same caliber as the end—as Steiner so poignantly states: "There is nothing Christian that has not been made Christ-like." Steiner sees the whole of the argument for nonresistant love, which is both the means and the end, to be epitomized in the phrase, "Thy kingdom come, thy will be done on earth as it is in heaven." To quote Steiner: "'On earth as it is in heaven' is the idea."

Yet Steiner is open to the idea that a nation may—and should—opt for a means compatible with Christianity. He notes the Quaker experience in Colonial Pennsylvania where peaceful measures led to a sort of international political agreement between the Indians and the Colonists. He then goes on to ask:

If the appeal to judgment and honesty has so great a power over the heathen, why should the same not work with the nations who make such boasts of common sense, reason, civilization and Christianization? But so long as the shortest route to the White House is by way of war and blood, just so long there will be found those who argue and contend for it both in the pulpit and on the floor of the Senate.

Indeed, he concludes, unchristian measures will never lead to the Christianization of the world.

In M. S. Steiner's clipping of his own article, he penciled in various editorial changes which have been worked into the reprinted article below. In addition, Steiner has noted in the margin at several places: "See Tolstoi," a clue to one of the sources of Steiner's ideas.

—L.G.

Is War Justifiable?

The Subject Treated from the Standpoint of an Adherent of Non-Resistance

By M. S. STEINER

In an article in the *Ada Record* of March 23, 1904, Rev. J. W. Hill, D.D., argues the justifiability of war on the following conditions: 1. That it be used to overthrow sin. 2. In case of self-defense. 3. In case of de-

fending property. 4. As an agent with which to civilize and Christianize nations. The attention of the Blosser brothers, John and N. O., of near Ada, and of myself, was called to the trend of the teaching of the article and of its possible effect upon such of the non-resistant faith as reside in this vicinity, and on the strength of this fact it was urged that I write an answer concerning the ground, but interpreted from the position taken by those who advocate the doctrine, usually termed, non-resistance.

(I confess right in the beginning my inability to do justice in the full sense of the term to so grand and glorious and profound a theme, in the time and place allotted to me. The theme is too often thought of in a superficial manner, and viewed only from the outside rather than examined from within out.)

Principles lie deeper than theories; I beg leave to call attention to a few that are often overlooked in the discussion of the subject. It may afford some lover of the truth an opportunity to dig deep after the fountain of peace from which flow the refreshing streams of sweet waters.

Mr. Hill takes the position usually held by modern theologs and by a great body of Christian professors the world over, namely, that the Law and Gospel must be harmonized; in other words, that the teachings of the Old Testament Scriptures favoring war and those of the New Testament Scriptures condemning it, must be harmonized. He does this in the sentence, "In this glorious consummation Law and Gospel go hand in hand," and by further asserting that the doctrine of non-resistance finds no support in the teaching of Christ and his followers, when fairly interpreted. "I say unto you, that ye resist not evil and if they smite you on one cheek turn the other," he continues, will not bear a literal interpretation.

Right here is where we come to the parting of the ways: The doctrine of non-resistance leads over the road that seems narrow, because, to go that way requires a faith in Christ and his God, accompanied by sacrifice and self-denial; while the other, the broader way, which seems to be a way too, widens so as to include "reason," "common sense," "self defense," and the arm of flesh, if need be, at the expense of the plainly written Word. Christ came to teach us the will of God. He came to teach us who and what God is in reality. He came to rightly interpret the Law and the Prophets. This he does very plainly and positively in the Sermon on the Mount.

The Sermon on the Mount is the Christian's "key" by which to learn what God meant to teach in reality. The Law given by Moses should be interpreted in the light of the Sermon on the Mount. Mr. Hill turns this around and makes the Law interpret the Sermon on the Mount. In this he is more Jew than Christian. God said to the first settlers of the globe, "Thou shalt not kill," but this law and original will of God was changed as were other commands of his, because of the stubbornness of man's heart. For the time being God permitted and even directed his people to go to war and to make war. They would not obey in all things, so he suspended his original rulings and substituted other measures more to their taste, taking them over the rough road of their own making, and granted them their request, but sent leanness into their soul. David was rejected of God and not permitted to build the Temple because he was a man of blood, and this, at a time when war was supposed to be justifiable.

The non-resistant doctrine is traceable all through the Law and the Prophets as an undercurrent (Elisha overcame the Syrians and made them his friends by the kindness of a bread and butter religion [II Kings 6:22, 23]), but in the teachings of Christ and his disciples it comes clearly and vividly to the surface: "Love your enemies, bless them that curse you, do good to them that hate you"; "Do good to all men"; "Dearly beloved, avenge not yourself . . . for it is written, vengeance is mine, I will repay saith the Lord"; "Therefore if thine enemy hunger, feed him. . . . Be not overcome of evil, but overcome evil with good"; "My kingdom is not of this world else would my servants fight, for the weapons of our warfare are not carnal but mighty through God"; and "For though we walk in the flesh, we do not war after the flesh," are the teachings of Christ unadulterated by the interpretations of man. He prayed and taught and lived that faith. "Thy Kingdom come, thy will be done on earth as it is in heaven." "On earth as it is in heaven," is the idea. His life very forcibly exemplified his teaching along the same line, from the time the angelic host introduced him to the world by saying, "Glory to God in the highest, peace on earth and good will toward men," to the day he refused the physical force of Peter's sword and denied himself the privilege of calling to his assistance twelve legions of angels in a case of self defense. He demonstrated to the world by word and deed that heaven's way by which to gain the victory over sin

and over death is by the law of sacrifice and self-denial and of love.

The spirit of war and the Spirit of God conflict. They are antagonistic one to the other. Men of high standing recognize this fact. Dr. Robert Hall said, "The morality of peaceful times is directly opposed to maxims of war. The fundamental rule of the first is to do good, of the latter, to inflict injuries; the former commands to succor the oppressed, the latter to overwhelm the defenseless; the former teaches men to love their enemies, the latter to make themselves terrible even to strangers." General Sherman who should know something of his makeup says, "War is hell"; and Dr. Channing whose orthodoxy is questioned on so vital a point as the divinity of Christ yet has enough in his mission of peace to say, "War is the concentration of all human crimes." Here is its distinguishing, accursed brand; under its standard gather violence, malignity, rage, fraud, perfidy, rapacity, and lust. It turns man into a beast of prey. Here is the evil of war, that man made to be the brother becomes the deadly foe of his kind; that man, whose duty it is to mitigate suffering, makes the influence of suffering his study and end; that man, whose office it is to avert and heal the wounds which come from nature's power, makes researches into nature's laws, and arms himself with her most awful forces that he may become the destroyer of his race. The field of battle is a theatre got up at immense cost, for the exhibition of crimes on a grand scale. There the hell within the human heart blazes out fiercely and without disguise!

That war—like famine, pestilence, earthquake and other calamities spoken of in God's Word—served as agencies by which nations have been visited and subdued for their wickedness' sake, and that God may still permit such to be done in like fashion, is not said that Christians should take and justify the same. We are to be "in the world but not of the world." God has one way of dealing with the world and will do that all, satisfactory to himself in his own appointed way, whether by water, fire, or blood; but he has quite another way of dealing with his own, and in protecting them. The wild rush for gain, wealth, honor, pride and fame in the world, whether accomplished by commercialism or for humanitarian reasons, is no excuse for Christians to lose their heads and faint in their hearts to take part in the butchery and robbery of fellow beings. (It is a grand privilege, that comes to us in our day of wars and rumors of wars, to live the Christ-life over.) Well might He

say to many who profess his name today, "Why call ye me Lord, Lord, and do not the things I command you?" and again, "These things (confess me before men) ye should have done, and not left the other (doing my commandments) undone." Advancement and progress that is permanent and genuine progress, that has no reaction to live down—progress that Christianizes indeed—is gained as one of the professors of our state universities argued, "Not by the men who have brought down other lives with the sword, but by the men who have laid down their own lives through an unresisting faith in the triumph of right through moral process."

Well now, how about self-defence, the defence of property, the protection of one's family in case of robbery, and like questions. There is in this disposition a great temptation to borrow trouble, much fancy, and fiction. No one of a thousand may ever be called to face such a trial, and granted for the sake of a case, I remember the question once came up in the senior class at the Bluffton High School during a recitation—Civil Government. Prof. Patterson disposed of it on this wise: "In case of robbery the man to be robbed stands no chance to defend himself. He may be only half-awake, all excited and not in a frame of mind or body to level his pistol and discharge it before the wide-awake robber can discharge his. You are under every disadvantage. Better clear your throat, move about in bed, and when he sees you are waking up he will clear out; you may have the satisfaction of looking out of the window and seeing him take to his heels." I suppose this would also afford an example as to how the passage, "If the good man of the house had known at what watch the thief would come, he would have watched and not suffered his house to be broken into," which Mr. Hill quoted in justifying self-defence, may be disposed of. The life in Christ is not worried by these "ifs" and "ands" and "suppositions." Christ cured Peter of a similar disposition in a critical moment by propounding the question, "Wherefore didst thou doubt?"

In reference to civilizing and Christianizing nations by the instruments of war, Mr. Hill calls attention to the Philippines and to the liberation of Cuba, which, he claims, "bears the indelible stamp of divine approbation." He says nothing of getting possession by purchase or annexation. There is more than one way by which to assimilate; there is more than one way of conquering. South Africa is subdued but is she conquered? The Philippines and

Cuba are not yet Christianized. See once what all we need yet to pay for and answer for before they have become Americanized, let alone Christianized. Jacob cheated Esau out of his birthright and as a result, received a mark of displeasure from God and had to go limping through this world the remainder of his life. Samson contraried the desire of his parents and the will of God in the selection of a wife, and the trick cost him his liberty and later his life. Saul compromised the command of God in his dealing with the Amalekites and tried the popular game of sharing the boodle with the Lord, and to his sorrow was told, "Hath the Lord as great delight in burnt offerings and sacrifices, as in obeying the voice of the Lord? Behold to obey is better than sacrifice, and to hearken than the fat of rams. For rebellion is as the sin of witchcraft, and stubbornness is as iniquity and idolatry. Because thou hast rejected the word of the Lord, he hath also rejected thee from being king." The fact still holds good. "Sow to the wind, reap the whirlwind," and "Be sure your sin will find you out." "Be not deceived, God is not mocked; whatsoever a man soweth that shall

he also reap," is a law of heaven that cannot be ridden down nor argued away!

There is nothing Christian that has not been made Christ-like. In this one point the Christian religion differs fundamentally from that of any other; other religions promote their faith by the sword. Christ is the only leader who taught and practiced the contrary. His apostles evangelized by the power of God, not the sword, and they succeeded very well. Decay set in and power from above ceased to a large degree in proportion as the followers of Christ later on resorted to carnal force—hence so much corruption in the churches during the dark ages and at times since. Apostolic methods are most blessed of God to this day. I refer you to the experiences of missionaries to heathen lands who carry no weapons, and who rely solely on God. The heathen by some supernatural fear are afraid to touch these men so utterly helpless. The Quaker can do more with the Indian than any American, because under the old Elm tree William Penn appealed to their reason and better self; they are conquered for all time to come by peaceful measures, yes,

John Horsch Mennonite History Essay Contest Report 1974-75

Elizabeth Horsch Bender served as judge for the essay contest. In Class I twenty papers were submitted; in Class II, nine; in Class III, one; and in Class IV, two. The results of the judging are as follows:

CLASS I — GRADUATE AND SEMINARY STUDENTS

- First: "John S. Coffman, Mennonite Evangelist (1848-1899)," by Sem Sutter (University of Chicago)
- Second: "The Schleithem Confession," by Philip Bender (Associated Mennonite Biblical Seminaries)
- Third: "The Hutterian Brethren: A Utopian Society?" by Sam Steiner (Conrad Grebel College)

CLASS II — COLLEGE JUNIORS AND SENIORS

- First: "Evaluations of the Mennonite Period of Change, 1870-1920," by Ronald Kraybill (Goshen College)
- Second: "The Relation Between the Historic Peace Churches and the Government of Pennsylvania from 1755 to the Beginning of the Revolutionary War," by Brenda Martin (Goshen College)
- Third: "The Eschatology of the Anabaptists," by Tom Rutschman (Goshen College)

CLASS III — COLLEGE FRESHMEN AND SOPHOMORES

- First: "Instruments and True Worship," by Lynette Shoemaker (Goshen College)

CLASS IV — HIGH SCHOOL STUDENTS

- First: "Biography of Willis L. Breckbill," by Bruce Breckbill (Central Christian High School)
- Second: "A History of Rittman Mennonite Home 1901-1975," by Betty Weaver (Central Christian High School)

—Leonard Gross, Contest Manager

"so long as the sun shines and the rivers flow." If the appeal to judgment and honesty has so great a power over the heathen, why should the same not work with the nations who make such boasts of common sense, reason, civilization and Christianization? But so long as the shortest route to the White House is by way of war and blood, just so long there will be found those who argue and contend for it both in the pulpit and on the floor of the Senate. The excitement, glitter and show of marching armies and maneuvering vessels stimulates a war spirit. An excuse and an occasion must be found for them; men will find excuses if they do have to go outside of the Bible for them. "And they will not come to one," says Christ, "because they love darkness rather than light."

Is war then never justifiable? No, never from the Christian standpoint. Armies themselves need to be saved; how then can they be saviours? Christ says, "My kingdom is not of this world," and continues, "for all they that take the sword shall perish with the sword." Every nation that advanced by brutal force, by the use of the sword, in the course of time again fell by the sword. It is an abnormal growth, a "boney" growth; a relapse sets in sooner or later. England, Russia and America endanger themselves, in proportion as these world powers resort to the sword by which to gain their possessions. Where is proud Greece, or the world-famous Roman Empire, and farther back than that all the former world powers that civilized by the sword? Do you suppose these were sinners above all others? "I tell you Nay; but except you repent, ye shall likewise perish." In conclusion what shall we say then, shall we continue the heathenish custom of settling disputes between nations by warfare, or between individuals by dueling? God forbid. Shall we then resort to unchristian measures by which to Christianize the world? Let the Bible answer.

Der Bauern-Stand

1

Merket auf ihr Christen Leut
Was ich sing' zu dieser Zeit:
Vom Bauern Stand
Ist wohl bekannt:
Was die Bauern müssen leiden,
Jetzt in den betrübten Zeiten,
Und dabey noch sehr veracht',
Einem Hund schier gleich geacht.

2

Alle Menschen in dem Land,
Kommen her vom Bauern-Stand.

Bedenk' mit Fleiss,
Merk' den Beweis,
Wie von Adam ist zu lesen,
So der erste Bau'r gewesen,
Eva eine Bau'r'in war;
Von ihr sind wir kommen her.

3

Jedermann bedenke fein,
Dass wir alle insgemein
Dem Bauern-Stand
Gar nah' verwandt.
Wer die Sach' thut recht betrachten,
Wird die Bauern nicht verachten.
Alle Menschen in dem Land,
Nähren sich vom Bauern-Stand.

4

Jeder denk' wie schön es steht,
Wenn der Bauer zu Acker geht,
Zur Frühlings-Zeit,
In's Felde weit,
Seinen Samen thut aussäen,
Wo er schneiden kann und mähen;
Dass man durch die Winters-Zeit,
Nahrung hat für Vieh und Leut.

5

Er baut Korn und Weizen an,
Dinkel, Hirsen—was man dann,
Der Früchte gut,
Mehr bauen thut.
Erbsen, Linsen, Haber, Gersten,
Baut der Bauersmann am ersten,
Dass so manches Land und Stadt,
Von ihm seine Nahrung hat.

6

Wenn der edle Fried' im Land,
Kann sich nähren jeder Stand,
Im ganzen Land,
Vom Bauern-Stand.
Wenn man thut im Sommer sehen
Felder voller Früchte stehen;
Vieh und Schäflein auf der Weid',
Da ist lauter Lust und Freud'.

7

Nützlich ist der Bauern-Stand.
Bauern bauen allerhand:
Frucht, Obst und Wein;
Was mehr mag seyn:
Rüben, Kraut, und grüne Waaren,
Damit in die Städte fahren.
Von den Bauern jedermann,
Um sein Geld was kaufen kann.

8

Rinder, Kälber, Schaf' und Schwein'
Die zum Schlachten tüchtig seyn,
Man haben kann
Vom Bauersmann:
Gänse, Enten, Hühner, Tauben,
Jeder mag es ernstlich glauben;
Ja, die beste Küchenspeis,
Zieht die Bau'r'in auf mit Fleiss.

9

Wer wollt' alles zeigen an,
Was der gute Bauersmann
Dem ganzen Land
Erschafft zur Hand?
Allerley der guten Gaben,

Die wir Menschen müssen haben,
Gibt uns Gott durch's Bauer's Hand,
Wenn es nur ist Fried' im Land.

10

Aber wo ein Krieg entsteht,
Alles sodann rückwärts geht;
Wie allbereit,
Zu einer Zeit,
Da man hört' an vielen Orten,
Rauben, Plündern, brennen, morden,
Dass der Bauer muss von Haus;
Da ist Elend überaus.

11

Wenn die Häuser stehen öd',
Und kein Pflug im Acker geht,
Das Feld umher,
Von Früchten leer;
Wenn das Vieh hinweg getrieben,
Dass kein Stück mehr überblieben,
Und der arme Bauersmann,
Selbst kein Brod mehr haben kann.

12

Wo die Städt' genommen ein,
Und die Feind' darinnen seyn,
Wo man auch hat,
All den Vorrath,
In den Häusern aufgezehrt;
Da man klag- und sagen höret:
"Ach! wenn Bauern führet rein,
Könnten wir auch kaufen ein."

13

Man hat der Exempel g'nug,
Wenn im Land nicht fährt der Pflug,
Das Feld liegt öd',
Und unbesät;
Und die Bauern thun verderben;
Ach! da müssen Hungers sterben,
Oftmals Kinder Weib und Mann,
Wenn der Bau'r nicht hausen kann.

14

Ja, auf Erden lebt kein Mann,
Der mit Wahrheit sagen kann:
Dass nicht im Land,
Ein jeder Stand,
Sich von Bauern muss ernähren.
Ach, wie manchem grossen Herren,
Stünd sein Kist und Kasten leer,
Wenn der Bauersmann nicht wär.

15

D'rum Alle die aus eitler Pracht,
Den guten Bauer so veracht,
Hier, dieser Erd
Sind sie nicht werth.
Allen braven Bau'r'n zu Ehren,
Ihr verdientes Lob zu mehrten,
Ist jetzt dieses Lied gemacht;
Dem zum Trotz der sie veracht.

16

Gott erhalt' die Bauers-Leut,
Nur im Frieden allezeit,
So hat's nicht Noth,
Um's liebe Brod;
Weiter wolle Gott auch geben,
Starken Leib und langes Leben,
Bis wir aus dem Kreuz und Leid,
Kommen zu der Seligkeit.

Der Bauern-Stand / The Peasant Class

Throughout the centuries the farmer has attempted to defend himself against other, better organized and hence more powerful, blocks of society. This has at times led to violence (for example, the well-known Peasants' War(s) of 1524/26 which broke out in much of Europe). Other attempts were more peaceful, such as the use of the power of the written word; the folk poem published below falls into this latter category. (We have attempted to maintain something of the original meter in the English translation which follows the original German version.)

As is generally the case for folk songs and poetry the date of origin of this creative piece is unknown. A copy in the Archives of the Mennonite Church (Hist. Mss. 1-439, 1/43) we judge to have been printed in the eighteenth century in Europe, perhaps brought to the New World in a family Bible. Other prints seemingly were made in Pennsylvania after the Revolutionary War era. Amos B. Hoover, Denver, Pennsylvania, thinks that "Der Bauern-Stand" was republished "to improve the Mennonite image" during and immediately following the Revolutionary War.

In any case, this folk poem—to quote Amos Hoover once again—"turns up in Mennonite Bibles again and again." The poem thus lies close to the Colonial and nineteenth century Mennonite mindset; it is in this sense an important document for Mennonite social-history research.

Other such broadsides, old printings, and even correspondence and letters must still be extant in family Bibles, Martyrs Mirrors and other books. Who knows about such materials, and who would permit us to publish these materials in coming issues of the MHB? We hope to continue making these materials available through publishing; but for this, we need the good help of our readers.

—L.G.

The Peasant Class

1

All ye Christians, lend your ear
To the song I sing you here:
Mankind knows
The farmer's woes:
What the farmers must endure
In the midst of times unsure,
And besides be so despised,
Almost like a dog assized.

2

Every mortal, old or young,
From the peasant-class has sprung.
Of this take heed:
You can read
Of Adam, who was first of all
The farmer on this earthly ball,
And Eve, who was the farmer's wife;
From her we all derive our life.

3

Let us not forget that we
Are and still must ever be
To farmer-station
A close relation.
He who sees it right and wise
Will the farmer not despise.
All the people in the land
Are nourished by the farmer's hand.

4

We all think of bounteous yield
When the farmer goes to field
At the spring-tide
To the field wide.
And his seeds he then doth sow
Wherever he can cut and mow;
So that through the winter's battle
We have food for men and cattle.

5

He sows grain seeds, corn and wheat,
Oats and millet, good to eat.
Then he plants still more
For our future store.
Peas and lentils, greens and barley—
He must plant them very early,
So that many a town and land
May be nourished by his hand.

6

When there's peace within the nation
There's enough for every station
In the land
From farmer's hand.
When in summer you can see
Fields of grain stand full and free;
Sheep and cattle in the pasture,
Then there's naught but joy and
laughter.

7

Of their usefulness I sing,
Farmers raise 'most everything:
Grain, fruit and wine
And other things so fine:
Beans and cabbage and red beets
Which they peddle in the streets.
And whate'er they can afford
They can buy from farmer's hoard.

8

Cattle, calves, and sheep and swine
That are fat and round and fine
You can yet
From farmers get:
Chickens, pigeons; ducks and geese,
Everyone can have a piece.
The finest food at its very best
The farmer's wife prepares with zest.

9

Who can make a list of all
That the farmer in the fall
Gives us far and wide
And on every side?
Those good gifts of every kind
That we mortals have to find
God gives to us through farmer's
hand
When there's peace throughout the
land.

10

But whenever war breaks out
Everything is turned about.
In every clime,
At any time.
Then one hears at many stations
Robbings, killings, plunderations,
That the farmer off must go;
There is found the deepest woe.

11

When stands desolate the house
And no tools the acre plows
The field is left
Of grain bereft;
When the stock is driven away,
Not one cow is left to stay
And the wretched farmer, bled,
Has not e'en a piece of bread.

12

Where the towns are occupied
With the enemy inside,
All the store
One had before
In the houses is all spent.
Then one hears the sad lament:
"Oh, if farmers just came by,
We some food could then supply."

13

Examples there have been enow,
When the land knows not the plow;
With weeds o'ergrown,
The fields unsown;
And the farmers then must perish.
Ah! at times, with hunger garish,
He must starve with all his brood
When he cannot raise their food.

14

Yes, there lives no man who may
In honest truth be led to say:
"Not every land
On every hand
Must feed himself from farmers'
hand."
How many a lord, both rich and
grand,
Would find his chests and cupboards
bare
If the farmer were not there.

15

All those who in foolish pride
The good farmer so deride
Are not worth
To live on earth.
To honor the good farmers well,
And their deserved praise to tell,

This song I've made, respect
demanding;
Scorners' lies notwithstanding.

16

If God preserves in peace always
The farmers through their length
of days,
Of bread will we
No shortage see.
Further, may God also give
Strength so that they long may live,
Until we pass from cross and sorrow
To our bliss when dawns that
morrow.

Recent Publications

Descendants of David Y. Yoder, by Eli Brenneinan. 218 pp. Order from: Eli G. Brenneinan, R. 1, Box 304, Salisbury, Pa. 15558. \$5.00 postpaid.

The Groening/Wiebe Family, compiled, edited and published by Joel A. Wiebe, Vernon R. Wiebe, and Raymond F. Wiebe. 2d ed. Hillsboro, Kan., 1974. 294 pp. Order from: Groening-Wiebe, Box 1, Hillsboro, Kan. 67063. \$8.25 postpaid.

Jonas Smucker, Ancestors and Descendants, by John R. Smucker, 1975. Order from: Mervin Smucker, R. 1, Box 80, Smithville, Ohio 44677. \$10.00 postpaid.

Peter Janzen Genealogy. Centennial edition. 180 pp. Order from: Kathryn Klassen, RFD 1, Box 254, Inman, Kan. 67546. \$7.75 postpaid.

Book Reviews

Local Lives. By Millen Brand. New York: Clarkson N. Potter, 1975. 526 pp. \$12.50.

Millen Brand is a broad-ranging chronicler of the Pennsylvania Dutch. His free verse poems range all the way from recipes and skills, through trades, anecdotes and ledger entries, to letters. He says, "I was impelled by a sense of valuable lives going unrecorded. I also believed that work was revelatory and had not been noticed enough compared with the singing and lute playing of life so much disliked by Menno Simons. . . . I used real names, only changing names and circumstances when I felt any chance of hurting anybody."

The Pennsylvania Dutch country these poems cover is found in an area bound by Reading, Easton and Philadelphia. Some of the poems reach back into history and for these he drew on original sources. In addition to Mennonite and Schwenckfelder characters and stories, the

author has included other Pennsylvania German groups as well as Indian. In 1940, after a boyhood in New Jersey and many years in New York City, Brand took up residence on Crow Hill, above Bally, Pennsylvania. He is descended on his mother's side from the Pennsylvania Dutch and although his family lost the "Deitch" when his great-grandfather Myers left Pennsylvania, he has picked up some of the Palatine dialect again and discreetly sprinkles an occasional phrase in his poems. James Longacre, pastor of the Bally Mennonite Church, says that Brand occasionally drops in for a worship service.

Mennonite readers will particularly enjoy such poems as "Mennonite Beginnings," "They Brake Bread," "Behind Germantown," "Foot Washing," and "The Mennonites According to Her." There are also many "occasioned poems" which he describes as a kind of journal of experience and accidental insight, while others were written as a consequence of the author's going around, notebook in hand, saying frankly that he intended to write a poem about this one or that. Without much self-consciousness, these neighbors talked as they would among friends.

Whether native or acquired, Brand has the gift of plain speech which he records in a free form that has the quality of casualness appropriate to his subjects who walk tall, work hard, share their bread, love their children, and care for their fertile fields. He uses poetry somewhat like a bard of old who weaves fact, story, legend, and gossip into a patchwork of many colors and pleasing designs.

—Gerald C. Studer

Brothers in Deed to Brothers in Need. By Clarence Hiebert, ed. Newton, Kan.: Faith and Life Press, 1974. 469 pp. \$20.00.

Celebrating in 1974 the one hundredth anniversary of the coming of the Russian Mennonites to North America has prompted the production of a variety of marketable items such as a small commemorative spoon, an iron implement seat, and several books. *Brothers in Deed to Brothers in Need* is one of these: a scrapbook of articles, pictures, and passenger lists which can be thought of as a companion volume to the Quiring and Bartel photo album (reviewed in the October 1974 *MHB*). It is a companion in the sense of being a largely verbal report from the American side of the story while the other is a photographic report of the situation in Russia.

This is not a scrapbook in any fragmentary sense but is rather a chronological and narrative Dank-schrift (document of appreciation). It should be in every congregational library of any consequence and will be of interest far beyond the immediate descendants of those migrants of a century ago. For it was the persistence, dedication, and generosity of a large brotherhood of Mennonites scattered across the New World that helped make the hardships and difficulties of such a migration tolerable. The book will provide excellent source materials for students in our Mennonite high schools and colleges who are searching into their own heritage and spiritual identity. Here one finds the excitement of an "I was there" account that a scholarly product of research into archival data may not produce.

Compiler-editor Clarence Hiebert provides the reader with a vivid first-hand account of this great trek in 1870-85 to the United States and Canada by means of a photo-reproduction of the pages from the articles appearing from month to month in the *Herald of Truth*, 75 pages of ship passenger lists, 33 ship pictures, and reproductions of various legal documents.

Here is all the color of the contemporary scene described with the immediacy and emotion experienced by those who were themselves involved, including such very human foibles as the rivalry between the Canadians and Americans vying for these immigrants; the apology of one reporter for not writing about "spiritual" things; references to the contacts with the Indians in connection with the search and exploration of available lands for settlement plus replies to the critics and reactions to the vigorous discussion regarding the retention of the German language. The items that are reproduced incidentally to the main article, on a *Herald of Truth* page, add a fascinating and authentic insight into the mood and issues of the day.

—Gerald C. Studer

A Note of Appreciation

Many *MHB* readers have sent or are still sending in communications as a response to the request in our annual Association mailing. Among the responses are a few manuscripts, as well as "News and Notes" items and evaluative comment about the *MHB*.

We thank you for your support; we hope to work much of this material into forthcoming issues of the *Bulletin*.
—L.G.

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The Anabaptist Vision: Time for Phase Three

JAN GLEYSTEN

I

In the evening of August 15, 1938, at the conclusion of the annual Music Week at Laurelville Mennonite Church Center, Mt. Pleasant, Pennsylvania, a number of us who had conducted workshops on music, art, and creative writing, met in a cabin to evaluate the week's accomplishments. Midway in our discussion, the conversation turned to the theme: "Anabaptist Vision versus Mennonite Reality." Most of those present were well acquainted with the intellectual recovery of the Anabaptist principles and the four decades of excellent scholarship that had brought us the *Mennonite Quarterly Review* and the *Mennonite Encyclopedia*. All of us were deeply appreciative of the legacy of H. S. Bender and the continuing work of the young Mennonite historians and theologians. But it disturbed us all greatly that this treasure of resources was not reaching the people of our Mennonite communities. Seemingly, in 1968 the church was busy becoming well-adjusted and respected in this world. The middle-aged Mennonites generally joined in the pursuit of the great American dream. They put their shoulders behind the Kiwanis or Rotary wagons. Young people often used the I-W alternative service assignment as a chance to get away from it all. The word "Mennonite" itself was being dropped from church signs and letterheads. Fads and -isms were making inroads. Radio preachers whose theologies were diametrically opposed to Anabaptist tradition received the generous support of many Mennonites. Ironically, at the same time that elective Sunday school classes were studying books like *Call to Commitment* and *Journey Inward*, *Journey Outward*, some Mennonites were casting aside their own traditions of a disciplined brotherhood community. Non-Mennonites like Franklin Littell and George Williams became excited about the Anabaptist message for our times, but many Mennonites did not know, and furthermore, could not have cared less, about this message. That evening we wondered: how can we bring a rich heritage and an apathetic people together?

So the *Martyrs Mirror Project* idea was born. It was to be a responsible popularization of the history and principles of our church, an attempt to distill the essence of the story out of the pages of heavy, scholarly works. It was to create this awareness to our people through the media of music, art, literature and drama. John L. Ruth, who had previously produced the *Christopher Dock Cantata* and the play *Twilight Auction*, sketched out the idea for a *Martyrs Mirror Oratorio*. Alice Parker Pyle promised to compose the music for it. John continued to describe a possible film on Christopher Dock with a sub-theme of non-resistance (*The Quiet in the Land*). He dreamt audibly about writing a novel on Conrad Grebel. Together we brainstormed about possible short stories, slide presentations, exhibits, and Anabaptist Heritage weekends.

Work on the project started at once. It quickly gained the wholehearted support of church leaders

like Howard Zehr, Paul Erb and J. C. Wenger. Organizations like the Mennonite Historical Committee and the Laurelville Mennonite Church Center assumed administrative responsibility for the task. During the first two years most of our time was spent in intensive study and research. Even in the very process of gathering materials we became aware of the urgent need for just such a project. While working in the library of one of our colleges I was invited to have lunch with a professor and his wife. They asked: "Who are these folks — this Conrad Grebel, this Blaurock you are talking about? We never heard of them." Some time later, in one of our Southern states, I sketched out the essence of Anabaptism to a group of young people, using H. S. Bender's summary: discipleship, a community committed to practical Christian living, and the ethic of love and nonresistance. One girl responded enthusiastically: "What a marvellous story! And to think I never heard it before. I always thought being Mennonite meant no mixed bathing and no sleeveless dresses. That's all our minister ever



THE CAVE OF THE ANABAPTISTS

A TourMagination group in the Cave of the Anabaptists, located near Hinwil, Switzerland. This cave was a place of refuge for the Anabaptists as early as 1525. It is all but certain that Conrad Grebel, Felix Mantz and George Blaurock, with many other brethren, hid out in this cave, a place of refuge from the political and ecclesiastical authorities in and around Zurich.

talks about!" And on another occasion I overheard a Mennonite minister explain our church to an inquisitive visitor: "We're very similar to the Salvation Army. . . ." Unfortunately these were by no means the only expressions of our Mennonite unawareness.

Both the *Martyrs Mirror Oratorio* and *The Quiet in the Land* were completed in the fall of 1971 in time for the Christopher Dock Bicentennial. The slide presentation *Faith of Our Fathers* was first shown at the Vincent Mennonite Church in eastern Pennsylvania in November 1969. Illustrated stories about the lives of significant Anabaptist and Mennonite people and places appeared in our periodicals. TourMagination began its program of educational tours in the summer of 1970. Urie Bender wrote *This Land Is Ours*, the first of his historical dramas, for the Ontario Amish-Mennonite Sesquicentennial in 1972. Anabaptist Heritage events, first sponsored by Laurelville, but now a service of the Congregational Literature Division of the Mennonite Publishing House, gained in popularity. Merle and Phyllis Good established their Dutch Family Festival as an authentic Mennonite witness to the tourists visiting Lancaster County. Two series of church bulletins with Anabaptist themes published by MPH in 1970 and 1975 needed to be reprinted and were sold long after original-use-dates. Partly as a result of these efforts the mood in the Mennonite church changed from general indifference to general awareness faster than the dreamers in that Laurelville cabin had dared hope for. Above all it has been gratifying to see how young people have responded to the story and the challenge.

II

Nineteen hundred and seventy-five was the year in which Mennonites the world over contemplated the 450th year since the emergence of the Anabaptist movement in the heart of Europe, including the way of life it represented. For many the review of our past became more than a study of historical facts; it resulted in the discovery of the gap between Anabaptist Vision and Mennonite Reality. It challenged some to forge contemporary forms

Anabaptism and Renewal

I

For thirty years the Anabaptist Vision, as interpreted by Harold S. Bender, has been a valid Mennonite mainstay. It provided a (now substantiated) synthesis of a movement which claimed to be an authentic part of God's kingdom. And through our common search together with regard to our beginnings as a brotherhood, we—as we sorted through the pieces—have as a result been drawn closer together as a gathered, believers' church.

Has this Vision remained only vision? Was it only a vision even for the Anabaptists? We would like to underscore what is already implicit in Gleysteen's article, namely, that to be the nucleus of the kingdom of God is already in its essence something far more substantial than a mere utopian dream; it is reality, imperfect to be sure, but a manifestation of the perfect. It is an imperfect casting of the ideal, but as such, embodies something of the substance of the ideal and vision—indeed, the vision has in a very real sense found fulfillment. For a true vision, in contrast to illusion, is a positive part of the human experience, essential to being, itself—and this, no matter which vision a person or group accepts as noble and true. For all human beings live with a view to vision; this is what grants hope to the human soul, what impels man into a new day. Vision colors essentially the human experience.

For those of us who accept the tenets of the Anabaptist Vision (the gatheredness of God's people, each of whom in his and her individual, personal being is worthy of being called "disciple," the composite of which is inspired by God's boundless love, and which lives out of and emanates this same quality of life and love) the words of Gleysteen can only impel us on to a new level of Christian response to the divine mandate, namely, to be faithful to our vision in a new day and era that defines the here and now.

II

Although Gleysteen's article recently has been published in excerpted form (Gospel Herald, 9 March 1976), we feel that the complete essay warrants publication at this time. It is an early attempt—probably the first serious attempt—at interpreting the recent Mennonite past from the standpoint of the effect of the Mennonite arts upon church renewal. There indeed seems to be a new force at hand which is helping to mold the Mennonite church presently. Gleysteen's essay is consequently a further probing into the nature and development of Mennonite thought in the last quarter of the twentieth century, in somewhat the same frame of reference as that of John W. Miller, in his "The Mennonite Church in 2025?" (Gospel Herald, 19 August 1975).

To some extent Gleysteen's essay reflects a Mennonite Church (OM) orientation; but a close reading will show that it transcends this narrower context, the development of thought emerging as an interpretation of the whole of (North American) Mennonitism in its current manifestations of life and renewal. But a clear reading of world-wide Mennonitism in the '70s also suggests that there is movement in the air which signals basic change, spelling renewal and rededication.

(The photographs in this issue have been selected from Gleysteen's extensive collection of prints and slides, covering virtually all aspects of Anabaptist and Mennonite history, life and culture.)—L.G.

through which to express our Believers' Church ideals. Guy F. Hersberger has long been a forerunner in this regard; his *War, Peace, and Nonresistance* (1944) and *The Way of the Cross in Human Relations* (1958) are eloquent testimony to this lifelong search. Two more-recent books, Robert Friedmann's

Theology of Anabaptism (1973) and Walter Klaassen's *Anabaptism, Neither Catholic Nor Protestant* (1973), widely used in college classroom and elective Sunday school classes, also helped significantly to bring about this awareness.

During this 450th Anniversary year some have voiced the concern

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Articles appearing in this journal are abstracted and indexed in *Historical Abstracts*. Microfilms of Volumes I-XXXIV of the *Mennonite Historical Bulletin* are available from: University Microfilms, Inc., 300 N. Zeeb Road, Ann Arbor, Michigan 48106.

that a study of our heritage would lead to "ancestor worship." Although a legitimate concern, I have not found many traces of it in the 94 different sessions of various heritage events I was involved in during the anniversary year. After carefully listening to the opening remarks and concluding prayers of about that many pastors and program chairmen I can only conclude that Mennonites are keenly aware and fearful of just such ancestor worship — so much so that some even have difficulty affirming the definite contributions the early Anabaptists have made to ongoing Christianity.

Nor have the persons principally engaged in the responsible popularization of our heritage fostered ancestor worship. J. C. Wenger, John Ruth, Leonard Gross, and Merle

Good have presented our people, our pilgrimage, and our movement "wrinkles and blemishes, warts and all." They have made no efforts to gild the lily, or to "de-Stalinize" our past into gloriously acceptable images. Our historical tours do not avoid the city of Münster and the lessons we can learn from misguided chiliasm. Mennonite historians from John Horsch to C. J. Dyck have always placed the Mennonite story in the context of the People of God through the ages. Moreover the Historical Committee of the Mennonite Church perceives its task as being more than simply keeping dusty records; to be true to its commission it must of necessity combine the gathering of facts with the interpretation of history and principles.

There are, however, other dangers in the attempt to come to terms with our heritage. One is the overuse and misuse during the past few years of the word "Anabaptist." The word's usefulness to communicate would best be served by limiting its use to two situations: 1) to describe historically the initial movement of those brothers in Christ who were forced to leave the Swiss state church, along with their fellow brethren in Austria, Germany and the Low Countries, and 2) to describe this sixteenth-century vision of church renewal (theology) which includes the authority of the Bible, the lordship of Christ, the baptism of adult believers, the importance of the brotherhood-community, and the concerns of compassion, mission, love and nonresistance.

Unfortunately, some institutions have used the hyphenated term "Anabaptist-Mennonite" to label almost anything they were planning to do anyway, while avoiding the consequences of radical discipleship or even realizing how far much of present-day Mennonitism is removed from the Anabaptist Vision and its attempt to recover the New Testament faith.

In the summer of 1975 we saw a surprising new label, "Teutonic-Anabaptism," a very unfortunate term indeed. It seems to imply that the system of theology described above is applicable only to persons of Swiss-German descent. If it is true that our particular holistic view of the Scriptures and our commitment to practical everyday Christianity cannot be appreciated by the Scotch-Irish, the Indian or the Tanzanian, or that our vision/theology cannot benefit from a new, creative interpretation by persons from Japan or south Texas, we ought to close our mission boards at once.

Another danger is gimmickry and commercialism. I remember John Ruth's remark: "The day may still come that we'll have to fight Fraktur-lettered bumper stickers reading: 'I am proud to be a Mennonite.'" It seemed hardly possible then, but that time is here. Especially during the anniversary year Mennonite artists were pressured by Mennonite and non-Mennonite merchants to design sweat shirts, ceramic plates and paper weights with Anabaptist themes because "the stuff would certainly sell." And when those artists refused their services the products appeared anyway — from gaudy seals and stickers, to Turkey Red Wheat paperweights, to imitation Fraktur art that fails to



TOURMAGINATION, 1975

TourMagination's special annual Michael Sattler Seminar. Merle and Phyllis Good, (Good Enterprises, Dutch Family Festival, etc.), with Kevin Jordan [middle], (Cross-Cultural Mennonite Youth Convention Coordinator), discussing the theme of the interrelatedness of faith and history, and the question of where the arts fit into maintaining a witness to this faith.

come to grips with the style and the spirit of its prototype.

Now it is one thing when groups of local Mennonite teenagers in their youthful enthusiasm produce such items in the spirit of an annual amateur Christmas program. But when supposedly responsible adults see the marketing possibilities ahead of the message and the mission, then it becomes disgusting indeed. The same thing can be true of tourism. A Mennonite minister calls me one evening to say: "My wife and I have just decided to organize an Anabaptist Heritage tour of Europe for a number of our friends. The airline offered us an attractive deal which includes Paris, Rome and Frankfurt. We also have a half a day in and around Zurich. Someone told me you know what to see there, and I wonder if you could have it to me by Thursday. . . ."

One begins to suspect that gawking at the Eiffel Tower and shopping for watches in Luzern takes higher priority than a serious study of Free Church origins. "Having been to Europe" seems more important than discerning together—with a view to the home congregation—the shape of an updated version of those basic sixteenth-century Anabaptist principles: discipleship, brotherhood and the Christian ethic of love.

But these—relatively few—negative incidents are overshadowed by a positive experience, the full effect of which cannot yet be measured. We have heard of conversions, many recommitments and changes in lifestyle or vocation as a result of heritage studies. It has

strengthened congregational life in numerous places. Some ex-Mennonites, who attended Anabaptist Heritage events in various congregations in the hope of finding material to complete their family histories, became fascinated with the story and the theology. More than a few have told us: "If we had heard this emphasis while we were yet in church, we'd still be Mennonites today."

The common ground of our origins has brought the various Mennonite bodies together. Some have found this to be so worthwhile that they are now talking about an annual Anabaptist Heritage emphasis. There are other signs that the interest in Anabaptist origins and principles will continue after the anniversary year, but this interest will take new forms.

III

The past fifty years of our Mennonite pilgrimage, particularly in North America, might be divided into three phases. We could label the scholarly rediscovery of our heritage, culminating in H. S. Bender's masterly presentation on the *Anabaptist Vision* in 1943, as Phase I. The responsible popularization of this knowledge now well under way becomes Phase II. J. C. Wenger has made an outstanding contribution in both of these phases. He combines the traits of a careful scholar and a delightful storyteller. Both phases need to continue, for new generations of people are always entering our fellowship. They also need to know the story of our past faithfulness and unfaithfulness. The writer of Hebrews recognizes this imperative too.

The time has now come for us to work together on Phase III: applying, in our time, the Anabaptist Vision — which in its essence is simply the intense desire to align with the vision and spirit of Christ and his early church. In a recent issue of the *Gospel Herald* (August 19, 1975), John W. Miller uses the term Neo-Anabaptism to describe this phase. A few congregations and house fellowships have already started on it. Phase III might easily become the most exciting, but also the most difficult, to realize. To enter it means that we must now lay to rest the corrupting remains of the unfortunate controversies that have long plagued the Mennonite church.

One of these is the Fundamentalist-Modernist debate. Any further accusations that a certain segment of our church is too far to the left, or to the right, or accused by both sides of being in the middle

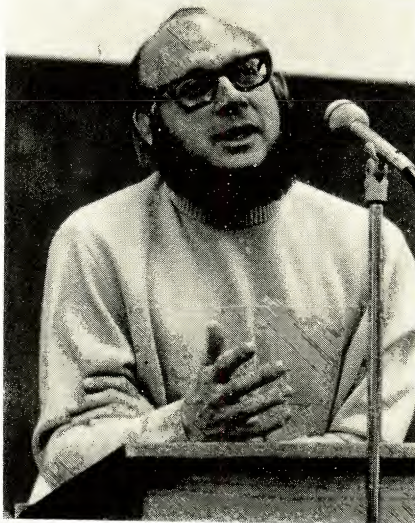
of the road, is senseless in the light of what we already know about Anabaptism: We are not even — (supposed to be) — on the same road!

At the Believers' Church Conference in 1968 John Howard Yoder typed Anabaptism as a theology which has much in common with Protestantism and Spiritualism and Pietism with which it shares the great themes of Christianity, but from which it also differs on significant points. It is, in Yoder's typology, like one of the three lines of a triangle on which the three sides never quite meet. Walter Klaassen titled his book *Anabaptism, Neither Catholic Nor Protestant*; John Ruth uses the phrase "the third option"; and J. Lawrence Burkholder pleads for the "Possibility of an Independent Judgment."

Each of these terms is rooted in our concept of the absolute lordship of Christ over the whole of our life, and in our kingdom theology. Choosing this third option will not necessarily make life easier for us in this world (the early Anabaptists knew this and spoke of the "bitter Christ"); but taking an escape route through Fundamentalism or Spiritualism, or any other kind of -ism, means: allowing part of our lives to remain under the dominion of Mars or Mammon.

Only after we realize this basic difference between these other theologies and the New Testament theology and faith underlying the Anabaptist Vision can the Neo-Anabaptism of Phase III begin to function. But unless we let it function, we Mennonites will not merely fall short of the Anabaptist Vision, we also will find that many of the borrowed theologies in our midst are incompatible with it. To illustrate: that we have among us an ongoing disagreement between those who emphasize the spiritual experience and those who stress the social expression of our faith reveals a fragmentation of the Christian faith which is the result of a thoughtless borrowing from the Fundamentalist, or from the secular Peace Movement, or from the Charismatic streams. A discussion — indeed, a dispute — arises which we might have avoided completely had we been better informed about both the New Testament, and our Anabaptist principles. Till we reach such an understanding the use of the hyphenated term "Anabaptist-Mennonite" will remain misleading.

If we, and any other believers regardless of background or label, choose to go the costly road of New Testament discipleship, exciting changes are bound to take place.

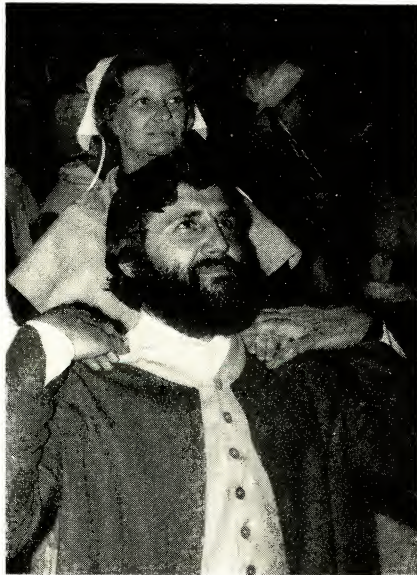


JAN GLEYSTEN,
ANABAPTIST INTERPRETER

Time for Phase III. Jan Gleysteen, during one of his many lectures in 1975 concerning Anabaptism and renewal.

First we will rediscover the richness of that close fellowship of disciples, the brotherhood-church. Unlike the Catholics who regard the church as an institution, or the Protestants who view the church as the place where the Word of God is preached, and baptism and communion are properly administered, or the Pietists who see the church as a source for individual spiritual fulfillment, the Anabaptists saw the church primarily as the band of committed disciples.

We will need to take a close look at the meaning of church membership in our congregations today. We must align our membership rolls with as nearly a 100% active, alive membership as possible in which all participate according to the full extent of their talents, gifts and circumstances. We will eliminate from our conversations "holding our young people." We will soon realize that we have to "win" our young people along with our friends and neighbors. We must move from an emphasis on "saving souls" and adding more numbers to the ranks of a nominal Christianity, to an emphasis on inviting others to the Jesus-way of life which follows real conversion. Together we will constantly rediscover a new and meaningful nonconformity to the world.



A CLOUD OF WITNESSES

Scene from the Martyrs Mirror Oratorio, presented in 1971 at the Christopher Dock Bicentennial, Lansdale, Pennsylvania. Eberli Bolt, (mentioned in the accompanying essay), was the first known Swiss Anabaptist martyr. He was burned at the stake on May 29, 1525 in his hometown of Lachen, the canton of Schwyz, for continuing to defend the faith he had been proclaiming in his hometown, as well as during his extended and successful ministry throughout the 1525 Easter season in the town of St. Gallen. According to a sixteenth-century chronicler, he was a "pious, kindhearted man."

Once we are in the process of building a believers' church we will already be a missionary movement. Both the early Christians and the early Anabaptists in their excitement about the fellowship of saints went about inviting others to share in the experience. From the Samaritan woman who left her jugs at the well to tell her townsfolk about Jesus, to Eberli Bolt, the Swiss Anabaptist who left his Brown-Swiss cows to preach the gospel at St. Gallen, the layman's witness, by whatever name or label, will once more become so effective that in retrospect, mass evangelism may look like an expensive "Protestant" mistake.

As we break out of our Swiss-German, Dutch-Russian mold our church is becoming multicultural; we are beginning to enjoy diversity within the unity of the common "nationality" of our chosen kingdom. The need for special emphases with regard to blacks, Spanish, or "women" (recently borrowed from Protestantism, and society at large) will dwindle once we affirm that our Spanish and black sisters and brothers represent the all-of-us, as defined by our common kingdom perspective.

This same kingdom perspective will keep us from endorsing or condoning the evil tactics which the powers of the worldly kingdoms use, supposedly for the common good of their own subjects. A true body of believers does not appreciate the "lesser of two evils" approach nor the lame excuse that the USSR or the Vietcong do the same thing. Our King said: "My kingdom is not of this world; . . . It [it] were . . . , then would my servants fight." Having chosen to be citizens of his kingdom now, we have become too busy to be involved in the endless squabbles between one godless system against another.

Robert Friedmann often described Anabaptism as "Existential Christianity," a total way of life in which differences between doctrine and ethics, belief and practice, no longer exist. Life becomes one great and eternal YES to the call of Christ. This clearly goes beyond mere speculation and casual moralism. Spirituality and obedience become one and the same — the warp and woof of the same seamless garment which is Christ's. It is a Christian existence of unreserved surrender and dedication to the divine will.

As for me and my house, we hope to be part of that emerging movement!

Church and World at the Turn of the Century

JOHN F. FUNK

Someone made the remark that the world is growing churchy. This in one sense may be true. The world knows, at least, how to treat the church and get into her good graces. Satan probably discovered a good while ago that he made a great mistake when he kept going up and down the earth like a roaring lion seeking whom he might devour, and he determined to change his tactics. While he roared like a lion, he drove the church away from him, and the church prospered and multiplied, and increased, and was mighty by the grace of God to pull down the strongholds of Satan. He found this would not do; he was losing ground. So he quickly ceased his roaring and put away this lion-like disposition, transformed himself into an angel of light, and in his lamb-like nature, he began to deceive the people and he soon had a very strong hold. . . . By this means he had no trouble to draw the church out into the world.

I had a grand chance to see an illustration of this today. It was Rally Day for the Sunday Schools. The matter was well arranged; a large number of schools; all well trained and in charge of persons who understood how to handle them; everything was conducted in good order, but the question that presented itself to my mind was: Is this now the world or the church?

Of a number of the schools it may truthfully be said: they were literally covered with flags. In some, every scholar of the school carried a small flag, besides larger ones that were carried by ensign-bearers. In some schools the boys had flags tied around their bodies as part of their garments.

Besides this both boys and girls, men and women were arrayed in garments that at once designated them as worldly, vain and unchristian.

Then there were bands with their instruments and drums; and there were marshals on horse-back. The marching, the arranging, the dressing, the music: all combined to make it more like a great military pageant than a religious gathering that had a tendency to promote the cause of Christ.

The marching took something over an hour, and while this was in progress, the line was protected. Teams were held and every care was taken that they should not be disturbed. Policemen, business of every class, men, women and chil-

dren stood in silent respect until all had passed.

Some of the school [were] singing while they were passing — some had mottoes, and passages of Scripture to give it a religious aspect, while the bands rendered martial music; and boys' and girls' brigades, and old soldiers, marched in the procession, all keeping to the music and making an appearance as an "army with banners."

Was it now the world that had come up to the church or was it the church that had gone over to the world?

This may be a hard question to answer, but one thing is sure, *they were together*, and it is never the love of God either that brings them together. "Love not the world, neither the things that are in the world. If any man love the world, the love of the Father is not in him." (1 John 2:15.) (—Hist. Mss. 1-1.)

"The Wenger Book"

A genealogy which promises to be one of the most ambitious pieces ever done in American Mennonitism is in the final stages of assembly for publication, the target date being October 1, 1976. The title will be "The Wenger Book," and the material will include the eight-generation records of the descendants of Christian Wenger and Eve Graybill, immigrants of 1727. Also included will be a three-generation record of all Wenger progenitors who came to America before 1850, and a three-generation record of about fifty early Mennonite heads of families in Lancaster County, Pennsylvania. A section on the European background of the Wengers, with family lines, will be included, (the research of John E. Fetzer of Kalamazoo, Michigan).

The editor-in-chief is Samuel S. Wenger, R.D. #1, Paradise, Pa. 17562 and the research specialists are Earle K. Wenger, Sr. and Helen K. Wenger, his wife, of 36 Hannal St., Battle Creek, Michigan. Other well-known personalities on the editorial staff are Dr. John C. Wenger, Goshen, Indiana; Grace Showalter of Eastern Mennonite College, and Ira D. Landis, long-time director of the Lancaster Mennonite Conference Historical Society.

Any person having information or documents relating to any Wenger family, or descendants of any Wenger ancestor, are invited to report what is available to the editor-in-chief at the address given above.
—Samuel S. Wenger

A Teenage Girl Visits the 1893 Chicago World's Fair

Ada Landis¹ was the daughter of John Fretz Landis and Hulda Shadlinger Landis who owned part of the old Fretz Homestead in Hilltown Township, Bucks County, Pennsylvania. In order to attend high school, Ada went to live in Elkhart, Indiana, with her Aunt Annie Landis who had married Abraham K. Funk. Funk was a partner in the printing firm of John F. Funk.

Ada had lived most of her girlhood years in Bucks County "back country." Hence her recounting to her sister, Fannie, about the eventful Chicago World's Fair in August of 1893 with some amazement is understandable.

The letter published below was found with some other family materials in diaries that her father kept. He had been a school teacher in his early married life but later returned to farming because of his health.

This letter was copied from the original by Raymond C. Hollenback, Royersford, Pennsylvania, for the Eastern Pennsylvania Mennonite Historical Library, located at Christopher Dock School, Lansdale, Pennsylvania.

—Wilmer Reinford, Creamery, Pa.

308 Division Street,
Elkhart, Indiana
August 26, 1893.

My dear Fannie:

Yours of the fifth is at hand. Sunday has come again, so I will undertake to answer your letter. I was to Sunday school at the Mennonite church this morning, and after that Maude² and I went to the Methodist church and Sunday school. It is after dinner now and we have all settled down for the afternoon, as it is too warm to go anywhere. It is very dry here too. In the country everything looks withered and barren, and "hard times" is the cry everywhere.

Several weeks ago there was such a Catholic excitement here in the city. It was reported that the Catholics had stored firearms in the basement of the church and that on a certain night they would break out and murder all the Protestants. Well, those who were foolish enough to believe it lost some sleep over it, but I did not.

On Wednesday Maud and I went to Goshen to attend the Teachers' Institute. Goshen is the county seat and the Institute was held in the Court House. It does not begin to come up to Bucks County Institute. We stayed at John Shadinger's for dinner and had a very pleasant time. In the evening I returned home about 6 o'clock and Maude stayed another day. When I got home I was quite surprised to see David Rickert sitting there in the yard. He stayed until Thursday evening when he left for Ohio.

I have been studying for the last two weeks, reviewing the common school branches, and yesterday I went to Goshen and took the teacher's examination. There were five other girls from Elkhart High School who went with me. They

were graduates and they seemed to dread it as much as I did. We commenced writing at 9 o'clock and wrote until half past five, having only a short intermission at noon. It was a hard day's work, for it was so warm, but I struggled through somehow. They gave each applicant a printed list of questions. I will send you the questions we had. You can look them over and send them back. Besides the questions which you will find enclosed, we were marked on our penmanship and spelling throughout the manuscript. I think I might have gotten through pretty well had it not been for the last set of questions on the "Lady of the Lake." It is one of Scott's poems and I had never read it, so I did not know much about it. I will find out some time this week whether I passed or not. If I didn't, I'll try it until I do pass, for I am determined to get there.

Yesterday the Snyder County³ Pennsylvanians had their annual picnic on the Island. Aunt was there. She always says she enjoys to hear them [speak] Pennsylvania Dutch and tell how to boil apple-butter and fry beefsteak.

Yes, Mrs. Nathan Fretz and Hannah Shadinger are sisters, and Mrs. Haverstick of Illinois and John S. of Goshen are brothers, and sister, to them. The first mentioned ladies had been to Chicago and were returning home when they stopped here. Yes, I think it would be advisable, and Aunt Annie says it would be just the thing, if you could get a place and work for your board to get a schooling. Even if it did seem a little discouraging to work that way, I believe it would pay you in the end if you could take several terms in that way.

About Edgar W., it was the strangest thing; when we came from Wheaton we met Mrs. Levi Gross

who was Anna Worthington. They live in Wheaton and she told me that her nephew, that is, Edgar, had been in Wheaton at the same time that we were there and that he wanted to see me. Well, it was too late then, so she said he would be in Chicago that evening, and she gave me his address, telling me I should write to him to call at Beidler's where we stayed. I did so and all that day whenever the doorbell rang I quick ran to the looking-glass but he didn't come. The next day, Wednesday, we went to the Fair, and in the evening to Rittenhouse's, so if he came that day we were at the Fair. I was sorry I did not get to see him since he was so near. But that is the way in Chicago, if you want to find any one, you can't.

Do Harvey Nace's live in Lansdale now or is he only working there?

Now I am going to tell you more about the Fair, and when I get through you will be thankful — I know I will. We did not go alone. We were afraid so Uncle Abram went along, but after we saw how nice and orderly it was, we used to go to the Fair grounds alone. Of course we never stayed out after dark. Uncle stayed three days and went home on Monday, and we stayed two weeks, going to the Fair eight days in all.

All the houses are covered with "staff" except a few of the state buildings. I only told you about Saturday, the first day there. Now I will begin with Monday. We saw the Illinois state building which is the finest of the state buildings; it is an exhibition in itself. One thing which is admired by everybody is a picture about as large as one side of the room in your parlor. The picture represents a barn and house. In the barnyard are the cattle and horses, and the wagon stands nearby; surrounding it all are fields of grain and grass — and what makes it all so wonderful is the fact that it is made entirely of corn and grains. To make the frame they took ears of corn and first cut it into slices and pasted them all around. Then to make the different colored fields and cattle they took colored grains of corn and all kinds of seeds. Another thing in this building was a beautiful cataract. They had the real rocks and there was water dashing over them.

Another very interesting department in that building was the War Department. Here we saw the coat worn by A. Lincoln at the time of his assassination, a lock of Lincoln's hair, his pocket knife, his shawl and a photo which was taken just before he put on his overcoat to go to Ford's Theater. We also saw the

saddle on which General Grant rode from the beginning to the end of the war, the Bible used by John Brown up to a few days before his execution, the first bell heard west of the Alleghenies, an original letter of Lincoln's, Santa Anna's cork-leg captured at the battle of Cero Gordo, a flag stained with the blood of Sergeant Patrick Riley, a sword presented to Commodore Perry, and thousands of similar relics.

Next we passed through the Fisheries Building which is one of the most interesting on the grounds. It contains almost every form of aquatic life, either alive or stuffed. They have the appliances for hatching, breeding and raising fish, for catching both salt-water and fresh-water fish, fish hooks, nets, traps, boats, etc., also methods of canning and otherwise preserving fish. In the center of the building is a rotunda 60 feet in diameter, in the middle of which is a basin 25 feet wide from which rises a mass of rocks covered with moss and lichens; and all around from the clefts of the rocks streams of crystal clear water gush out and fall to the basin below. In this pool are the most beautiful fish — golden Ides, golden Tench, and turtles as large around as a half bushel. Then the Aquaria—it is so arranged that live fish are seen just as they live deep down under the water. I might describe the varieties of fish, but it would be a useless waste of time.

Sunday evening: I will resume the journey in the "White City." Next we entered the Government building. In it was the most beautiful specimen of coral, about 60 feet of one of California's giant trees containing a small room and a stairway to the top, also a sacred bull that was stuffed, stuffed fowls of the finest breeds, and they looked so real it seemed as if they could move. We next find ourselves in quite a strange place called the "U.S. Army Hospital." Here we saw cases full of bones from amputated limbs of soldiers, also miniature trains of cars showing how the wounded are carried long distances, and medical appliances and inventions used in the hospitals.

Next we enter the Manufactures and Liberal Arts Building, the mammoth structure of the exposition; the main building, including its galleries, covers an area of 40 acres—just think of it, as large as your farm! It is said to be the largest building ever constructed; there is a gallery 50 feet wide. Extending around the building and projecting from this are 86 smaller galleries, 12 feet wide, and if one stands on one of these and surveys the splen-

dor and magnificence around him he is filled with overpowering awe. The galleries are approached from the main floor by 30 great staircases, the flights of which are 12 feet wide. Extending north and south through the building is an avenue 50 feet wide, called "Columbia Avenue", and in the center of the building is a tower extending to the roof, which contains a set of chimes and at stated intervals these play the national airs and other familiar tunes. Every kind of manufactured article is found here, and indeed it would take months to thoroughly see this building alone. We saw there the Tiffany gold works of New York which are the finest in the world. Oh! the handsome jewelry! Oh, it is wonderful. The French display their fashions; this is beyond description. You have probably seen the beautiful wax figures which clothiers use to display their goods. Well, they had immense cases of the most beautiful figures of ladies, and then they were dressed in the 13th Boulevard Paris styles. I tell you if you didn't have a pretty sensible head you'd most go off. Straw-bridge and Clothier of Philadelphia had a display of ladies costumes. The Russian exhibit of furs was very fine. I am sure I saw thousands of dollars worth of furs. The Swiss watch exhibit I would not have missed. They are the finest and best watches in the world. We saw the smallest watch ever made—it was one-quarter of an inch in diameter and was set in a spray of white diamonds. I wish you could imagine how it looked. It was the prettiest thing I ever set my eyes on. The Italian wood carvings were very fine. I noticed one called "The Last Supper" representing Christ and his disciples, which was marked \$1000. Another thing which was very unique was a Greek vase marked \$40,000. It was made of pure gold pounded into steel and was 5 feet high; the carving representing the body of Christ when it was taken from the cross was strikingly beautiful, the agony on his face and the blood dropping from the pierced palms and the sorrowful pitying look of Mary were so real that the whole scene appeared before you. The Algerian onyx clock is a handsome piece of workmanship. It is ten feet high and is inlaid with gold and onyx, price \$1200. And among the Waterbury watches we saw a miniature vessel about 1½ feet in length which was entirely covered with rubies, diamonds and sapphires. Then there were lovely bedroom sets, bronze carvings, the finest chinaware.

I am getting tired so I will continue my travels in another letter. If there is anything that you particularly want to hear about you must ask. Good Night.

Your sister,
Ada

Monday afternoon: I haven't mailed my letter yet so I will add a few words. We washed this morning. We have a machine and generally get through by noon. You said some time ago that you were making cake, so I will give you an excellent recipe for making baking powder. You buy the ingredients and mix it yourself. Aunt Annie uses it and says it is cheapest and always reliable: 6 ounces of cream of tartar, 4 ounces of carbon of soda, 20 spoonful of cornstarch. Keep tightly corked in cans or in bottles.

¹ A. J. Fretz, *Brief History of John and Christian Fretz* (Elkhart, Ind., 1890), 282.

² Daughter of Abraham Funk. See Fretz, 211.

³ Reference to Ada's uncle, Joseph Landis, who lived in Juniata County which adjoins Snyder County. See Fretz, 283.

News and Notes

Pionier Jahre in British Honduras (Belize) by G. S. Koop (P.O. Box 583, Belize City, Belize, C.A.), 184 pp., and *25 Jahre in Mexico: Beschreibung von der Quellenkolonie, 1948-1973*, 71 pp., are recent additions to the Goshen College Mennonite Historical Library collection. (Information about both volumes can be obtained from G. S. Koop at the above address.)

New Volume on Mennonite Migration

The Great Trek of the Russian Mennonites to Central Asia, by Fred R. Belk, tells of the epic nineteenth-century migration of 600 Mennonites from southern Russia and the Volga River region eastward into the wilderness of Asiatic Russia to meet the Lord.

Their leader, Claas Epp, Jr., believed that the great tribulation spoken of in Revelation was at hand, but that God had prepared a place of refuge for His own in Turkestan. The world, beginning in the West, would soon fall under the dominion of the Antichrist. Only the faithful remnant in its place of refuge would be spared.

Epp and his associates were influenced in their interpretation of Daniel and Revelation by the writings of a German mystic, Jung-Stilling. Their views were encouraged by political events in Russia which threatened to rob Mennonites of key

privileges they considered vital to their faith.

Some 18,000 Mennonites migrated to North America in the 1870s because of this fear. Claas Epp and his followers found another way of escape, both spiritually and physically, in the trek to Asia and in their theology of a faithful end-time remnant. Thousands of Mennonites in Russia still live in the "place of refuge" which Epp believed the Spirit had revealed to him.

The Great Trek is Volume 18 in Herald Press's respected *Studies in Anabaptist and Mennonite History* series. Thirty photographs and maps help bring the story to life. Dr. Belk, the author of this volume, is a member of the History and Political Science Department at Sterling College, Sterling, Kansas.

The Great Trek is a story of suffering and heroic endurance, of faith and fanaticism. Solidly based on careful research, this dramatic chapter from the Mennonite past is told with skill and understanding. Its implications for our own day are instructive and sobering.

"Anyone who keeps abreast of religious activity and literature is aware that we again are witnessing a revival of interest in the apocalyptic dimensions of the faith," says John A. Lapp in *Festival Quarterly*. "Just as in the 1880s, the appeal of the future is more often than not a desire to escape from the anxieties of the present. Reading a book like this can be a good reminder that those who do not remember the past are fated to repeat it."

The Great Trek of the Russian Mennonites to Central Asia, 1880-1884, by Fred Richard Belk, is published by Herald Press, Scottdale, Pennsylvania. It is available from your local bookstore at \$9.95—Paul M. Schrock, Scottdale, Pa.

Book Reviews

Real People. By A. Martha Denlinger. Scottdale, Pa.: Herald Press, 1975. 96 pp. \$1.95.

This description of the Amish and Mennonites of Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, has been prepared for the thousands of tourists that visit the area each year. The title refutes the incredulosity of those who suspect that the local tourist bureau pays people to dress like Amish and ride around in horse-drawn buggies to draw attention to themselves and arouse curiosity. Martha Denlinger, writing from within the Mennonite tradition, responds to this and other similar misconceptions and miscellaneous questions with simplicity, accuracy and patience.

For years the author has taught public school in Lancaster County and has had occasion to mingle with thousands of tourists and listen to their comments regarding these very different people who constitute so significant and conspicuous a segment of the population.

The author writes with directness and clarity and has grouped her information into the areas that most often intrigue the "outsider" — the difference between the Amish and the Mennonites, the impact of tourism, home and family, manner of dress, religious life and worship, economics and occupations, etc. There are twelve chapters, a glossary of terms, a bibliography, and an index. Many excellent photographs complement the text. The volume is bound in a glossy, illustrated, paper cover.

Occasionally the author expresses an opinion: "... tourists won't drive the Amish out so fast as the commercial and residential buildup with its threatening tax structures"; but always she tries to 'tell it like it is': "Traditionally, Mennonites upheld the 'simple life' . . . but many have assimilated the lifestyle of the surrounding community."

I would suggest a few improvements and raise a few questions. Would it not have been more helpful had she said that the education among Mennonites ranges from the elementary grades to that of lawyers, medical doctors, scientists, etc., rather than to simply allude to the fact that some Mennonites pursue postgraduate studies. Then again, is the old distinction between non-resistance and pacifism which she gives not too simplistic? Perhaps for some readers a bit of clarification in the main text concerning the term "Brethren" would have been useful since the present day denomination bearing that name has no organic connection with this early designation for the Swiss Anabaptists. Finally the line or two distinguishing the General Conference Mennonites from the Mennonite Church might better have mentioned the former's stricter congregationalism, greater tendency toward fundamentalism (in eastern Pennsylvania, at least), and greater leniency with regard to participation in military service, than simply their "less emphasis on separation in attire."

Even with these several minor criticisms, this book should prove to be an attractive, effective, and inexpensive tourist-market piece to complement — not to mention correct — some of the other similar pieces already available.—Gerald C. Studer.

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THE FRIENDS AND THE MENNONITES

North American Mennonites of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries had carried much of their religion and culture with them as they ventured to the New World. But when they landed, they also associated closely with kindred spirits—the Friends, the Dunkards and the Moravian Brethren, among others—giving of themselves, but also accepting expressions of faith from others. Indeed, William Penn's Holy Experiment wielded a great influence upon the many Colonial Pennsylvania brotherhoods whose common faith included the affirmation that peaceful community is possible and, in fact, the norm for the body of Christ. The "Friends' Meeting" symbolizes the strength of the Pennsylvania Experiment, of which the Mennonites were an essential part.

The lead documents in this issue center in the history of the eighteenth-century Mennonites and Amish. They are presented here as an *MHB* tribute to the American Bicentennial. The Mennonites, as can be seen in these articles, were an integral part of the scene, in their own way fashioning a spirit and witness which did not go unnoticed in the development of the American idea. How better could one celebrate than to further the knowledge of an era that in itself helped to further the cause of human rights, and so to strengthen—indirectly to be sure, yet still in a very real sense—the government of these United States?—L. G.

The Colonial-American Amish

There is a direct Amish influence upon much of the Mennonite Church west of the Allegheny Mountains, as is suggested by the older Mennonite family names throughout this vast area extending all the way to the west coast. The form of Mennonite church polity in that area also stands in contrast to that of the several Mennonite conferences of Eastern Pennsylvania and Virginia. The letter published below draws together some of the early history of the Amish in America from the pen of an unusually well-informed historian, C. Z. Mast.

Although much of the information is already known that "the historian of the Conestoga Valley," as Mast (1885-1974) denoted himself, wrote in a letter in 1938 to the well-known Mennonite historian and church leader, Harold S. Bender (1897-1962), the context of the letter provides an interpretation of the American Colonial era which deserves a broader audience. July 1976 is a fitting time, and the MHB a fitting context for the publication of this tersely written missive.

—L. G.

Elverson, Pennsylvania,
March 16, 1938.

Harold S. Bender,
Goshen, Indiana.

Dear Brother Bender:

Yours of March 10th to hand and noted, and undoubtedly you realize that you have given me a very hard nut to crack because the Amish historian failed to dip his pen. In the past quarter of a century I have endeavored to glean facts which would have otherwise passed into oblivion.

We certainly owe much to men who wrote on church history and family genealogy as Shem Zook, John and Jonathan Hertzler and David Beiler.

The Amish were only a very small group in America during the Revolutionary War period. In their first organized congregation in America, located in the present vicinity of Hamburg, Pennsylvania, we find Burkey, Kurtz, Hochstetler, Fisher, Kauffman, Koenig, Lantz, Mast, Miller, Yoder, Stutzman, Zug, Stoltzfus

and Detweiler families. Some of these family names were represented with three to four married couples. You can imagine that there would be no large ministerial list.

Probably you know that the Yoder family was the first to come to our shores. In fact we do not know their exact date of arrival, but they took out a warrant for land in Oley Valley near Friedensburg in Berks County, Pennsylvania, in 1714, and they were followed by the Fishers, Kauffmans and Beilers into this region. Your president of Goshen College [S. C. Yoder] emanates from the Oley Valley stock. The old Yoder homestead has been continuously occupied by Yoder descendants since 1714. The present owner and occupant is David B. Yoder, address Maxatawny, Pennsylvania. They are very sociable people and are glad to show you old heirlooms which were brought across the ocean from the Fatherland.

The Amish Church in Switzerland had become alarmed about the small flock in America who had lived here without a shepherd. However, Jacob Hertzler was sent at the age of forty as a native from Switzerland, who labored here almost forty years. Having come in 1749, his labors were confined to the Northkill Congregation in the vicinity of Hamburg, Pennsylvania. The "ten years of bloodshed" entered in 1754 to 1764 when the savages returned into Berks County to reclaim the land. The Northkill Church suffered much from Indian depredations; some were mercilessly driven from their homes. Among such, we may mention the Lapps, Masts and others. The Hochstetler family also experienced a horrible massacre when the mother, a son and a daughter were killed by the tomahawk. I could take you to the spot where the massacre had occurred on September 19, 1757.

Jacob Hertzler lived in Bern (now Upper Bern) Township, Berks County, Pennsylvania, and his address was Hamburg when he died. I could also take you to his grave and homestead.

Now Bishop Hertzler remained at his post while others fled. He had a daughter that was married to the eldest son, John P. Hochstetler, who lived seven miles from his home at the time of the Hochstetler massacre. John P., who lived only a few hundred yards across the field from his

father Jacob, had hidden his wife and children under a pile of brush. He finally settled in Somerset County with his family, and thus we have the following congregations which were established before 1776 through the Indian depredations from 1754-1764.

Tulpehocken—Womelsdorf vicinity, Berks County.

Maiden Creek—Leesport and Shillington vicinities, Berks County.

Conestoga—Morgantown vicinity, Berks County.

Goshen—Malvern vicinity, Chester County.

Goshen was the name of the meeting house where they had worshiped and here they had a congregation before 1776. The four congregations aforementioned and the Northkill in Upper Bern Township, Berks County, were the only organized congregations prior to 1776.

Several years ago you were in the Malvern vicinity when you had stopped with the folks at the Moritz Zug Homestead and made notes from the fly leaves of the old Bible. My great-great grandfather, Christian Zug, was the pastor of the Goshen meeting at the time of the Revolutionary War. The Continental Army had removed the rails from his fences on the farm to construct a fort. He was born April 20, 1752, died October 8, 1826, (date of ordination unknown). I am certain that Bishop Hertzler ordained him, as Bishop Hertzler had oversight of all these five early congregations.

My great-great-great grandfather, Bishop Jacob Mast, was the resident pastor of the Conestoga Congregation. My grandfather had stated on his manuscripts that he was ordained in 1788 by Bishop Hertzler. But this date does not harmonize with the date of Hertzler's death on the Hertzler monument near Hamburg.

Bishop Mast was born in 1738 in Switzerland, arrived in America in 1750. In 1760 he made his escape from the Indians and settled in that same year in our valley; therefore he was twenty-four years of age when he came into this region and I feel very positive that he performed ministerial duties for quite a number of years before Bishop Hertzler died. His ninth child was born in 1776.

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The earliest ministers to the Maiden Creek Congregation whose names are available, as also ancestors on my paternal and maternal sides, are Christian Stoltzfus, born in 1748 and died in 1832. He was my great-great-great grandfather and I certainly believe that he preached during the Revolutionary War. Some of his close neighbors, especially Christian Schmucker who is the ancestor of your Smuckers in Indiana, were imprisoned in the old Reading jail for refusing military service. You are undoubtedly acquainted with that story, and my great-great grandfather Christian Miller was also a pastor in the Maiden Creek Congregation. He was born in 1760 and died in 1832. According to his date of birth he was no minister prior to 1776.

I have no knowledge of ministers in the Tulpehocken Congregation near Homelsdorf where Conrad Weiser, the well-known warrior and Indian interpreter, had lived. He wrote once about several long-whiskered men, identified with the non-resistant faith of his locality, that to his surprise shouldered the gun to drive the savages away. However, in this congregation we find the Lantz, Yoder and Beiler families, and many others who moved across the border into Lebanon County and also to the banks of the Cocalico in Lancaster County. I think there were also some Burkis and Stutzmans in this region who had migrated here after being molested by the Indians in the Hamburg vicinity. Some of these families kept on migrating into Mifflin, Somerset and Cambria counties. Among them were also the Koenigs or Kings. I regret that I cannot refer you to any minister's name for this region prior to 1776. Tradition teaches that a John Miller was pastor for many years in Berks County and later in life he settled in Somerset County. He was known as the blind preacher as he was physically blind.

I have made this letter rather lengthy, owing to the fact of my meagre knowledge of the early Amish pioneers.

Your family with many others were induced to settle in America through the Napoleonic Wars, which was the means of introducing new blood and thus I am a victim of repeated intermarriages. I always concluded, that while I had compiled the Mast History in my single days at the age of twenty-five years, that I would not marry any akin. But somehow my companion who is from Wayne County, Ohio, is my fourth cousin.

Recently I had the pleasure of conveying Bishop Isaac Mast and his wife from Casselton, North Da-

kota, a distance of 156 miles in ten hours among the ancestral homes and cemeteries of Berks County. May I kindly ask you that after you have made notes from this letter to simply address it to Brother Mast at Casselton, North Dakota.

With kind regards, I am

Yours in the faith,

C. Z. Mast

(—Hist. Mss. 1-6, 1/2)

Mennonitism and the Development of Western Democracy

The Philadelphia Inquirer in its issue of June 8, 1903, includes an article reprinted below, which heralds the Germantown Mennonites as being instrumental in securing the religious liberty clause in the state constitution of Pennsylvania (and also of other states), which was later accepted into the Bill of Rights. Fortunately, the Germantown Meetinghouse at 6121 Germantown Avenue has since received due attention; it stands today in its simple yet dignified architecture as a symbol of the richness and variety of America's early past. Something of its early vision indeed lives on. In fact a budding congregation is presently active in renewing the same basic concerns that have been the mainstay of the Free Church throughout the centuries, including the preservation of a peace mission and of social concerns, not only as an Anabaptist-Mennonite historical reality but also as a very present need and vision to be brought into its own, within a modern urban setting.—L. G.

Edifice that Cradled Religious Liberty in Pennsylvania, on Main Street, Germantown, after War for Independence, Shows Signs of Neglect

There is continued protest over the neglect of the little Mennonite church on Main Street, above Herman, Germantown, one of the most interesting of historic churches in the United States. It was stated a few months ago that the structure was to be put in perfect repair. In reality the new repairs included only fresh painting, which was donated by two men living in the neighborhood, and both roof and interior are still showing signs of neglect.

Many interesting historic facts are well known concerning the history of the early Mennonites who came to Germantown with Penn, but it does not seem to be generally under-

stood what an important part the little band of Mennonites in this church played in establishing the religious liberty clause not only in this state, but in every state in the Union.

It was after the struggle for independence had ended that the Mennonites of Germantown met together and prepared a memorial to the Assembly of Pennsylvania to have a religious liberty clause engraved into the Constitution of Pennsylvania. This work was done in the little Mennonite church of Germantown, the document being written on the communion table which was brought from Germany when the Mennonites set sail for America, and which still graces the old historic building.

Representatives from the Mennonite churches of Germantown and the Skippack presented the memorial in person, which was unanimously adopted by the Assembly, and later on it became a part of the Constitution of the state. Other states followed Pennsylvania and this religious liberty clause has become a recognized feature in every state in the Union.

A Mennonite Sermon of 1782

The author of this sermon is either Christian Funk or Christian Holdeman, both Mennonite ministers. Holdeman lived in Upper Salford Township, Montgomery County, and Funk in Chester County. The context of the sermon is hence Eastern Pennsylvania. See John F. Funk, The Mennonite Church and Her Accusers [Elkhart, Indiana, 1878], 58-59.—L. G.

Today, the 31st day of March 1782, on Easter Day, I have set out by the Lord's grace and blessing to write something on the human life and walk so far as it is imparted to me by the Lord's help. But I do not want to write anything other than what will serve and redound to the salvation of all men; so now, but only briefly, I will cite how God the Lord in the beginning, when he created the world, also made man after his image, pious, holy and good, as can be read in Genesis, and commanded them in what they should and should not do, and put them into a quiet Paradise and said, On the day when you do not keep my commandment you shall surely die. But the serpent which is the devil deceived them and said, You shall surely not die. Then came the desire to break the commandment; they broke the fruit off and ate it. Then they saw at once that they

had erred and hid from God who had made them. And God was walking in the garden when the day had grown cool, and he saw immediately what they had done. He called and said, Adam, where are you? Adam said, I hear your voice but I am naked; I have transgressed your commandment, therefore I am hiding. God the Lord said, Because you have done this you shall now make your living in sorrow and toil. Adam put the blame on the woman, and the woman said, The serpent deceived me. God said to the serpent, You are cursed above all beasts; on your belly you shall creep and eat earth all your life. God gave the woman her burden, the man his, and said, In the sweat of your brow, you shall eat your bread for the rest of your life, etc., and thus they were put out of the quiet into turmoil because of sin, for God called the desire and transgression sin. Then all kinds of unpleasantness came upon them—turmoil, strife, freezing cold and heat, all kinds of disease, war and bloodshed; and ruin came upon them so frequently when they became four and multiplied, that no brother could redeem the other from destruction. But God in his wisdom saw that men had thus fallen prey to the deceiver—the devil and old serpent; thus God had said to the serpent right at the beginning: I will put enmity between you and the woman, between your seed and the woman's seed; and he shall tread upon your head, and you will pierce his heel. And before the serpent got any further the devil, the old serpent, instigated strife among men and made Cain so angry that he slew his brother Abel (Gen. 4).

Thereupon there were two kinds of people, so that one party were the children of men and the other party were called the children of God. It came to pass that mankind multiplied and begot sons and daughters, but when the children of God looked on the daughters of men and took as wives whomever they wished, God grieved in his heart and said: Men refuse to be rebuked any longer by my spirit, for they are flesh; I will grant them grace yet for 120 years. But when God saw that their wickedness was constantly increasing God said: I regret that I made man; I will annihilate them from the earth. And he caused a flood to come and killed them all except eight souls who led a godly life (Chapter 6). Later in Chapter 11, we see that men began to build a city and tower against God's will, and the Lord God named it Babel and confused their language so that they had to stop building; and he

scattered them into every land. Later, in chapters 18 and 19, we see that men sinned grievously in Sodom and Gomorrah; the children of God were suppressed. Then God let fire and sulphur rain down from heaven and killed them all, and he saved the righteous who were only a few.

In this manner God preserves at all times his people who depend entirely upon him. We can see this again in Joseph (Gen. 37-49), how God preserved him so wondrously when his brothers were hostile to him and tried to kill him. They cast him into a pit, and then pulled him out again and sold him into Egypt; there he became a ruler, for God was with him. Further, look how Moses (Exodus 2) was saved when Pharaoh wanted to kill him, and further on, how Korah, Dathan and Abiram, with 250 of the leaders of Israel, rebelled against Moses (Numbers 16), and said: You take too much upon yourself, all the congregation is holy. Moses prayed to God and said to them: Tomorrow you shall see whom the Lord has chosen, and the earth opened up its mouth and swallowed them, and they went down to hell alive with their houses and all their possessions, and all Israel that were around them fled in fear of their cry. Once again all Israel was preserved by God's hand, and the children of God went through the Red Sea dry, but their foes drowned. As long as they held to God he helped them, but when they were unbelieving he let them fall when the battle grew too hard for them and they murmured against God.

So we can see how God saves his own and destroys the children of this world who fight against the children of God. We can see this with David and Solomon, how the kings fought against their enemies with God's help (1 Samuel 17), when David without a sword in his hand, slew the giant Goliath, the Philistine. Jonathan and his weapons-bearer slew an entire army, for God was with them (Chapter 14), for victory comes from the Lord. With 300 men Gideon defeated an entire army of Midianites, 120,000 strong (Judges 6). Furthermore we see this in many others—in Mordecai and his family, how they were saved by God's leading when the proud and haughty Haman was going to kill them. But on that day there was a turnabout, and Haman was hanged, as can be read in Esther; and we also read in 2 Kings 3 that the Moabites rebelled against Israel and took everyone who was old enough to prepare for war to fight against Israel, but all in vain.

In this vein we read in Ezekiel 17 that Heseekiah, who broke the treaty made with the king, did not succeed.

Likewise, I believe that the present backslidden Christians are to be likened to those backslidden children of God. There would indeed be much more to mention from the Old Testament, but because I want to make it short I will now turn to the New; because the Redeemer, Jesus Christ, has come, and he has brought us a new Testament—the other is now old. Because most people adhere to the New Testament and are baptized upon it, namely, upon the name of Jesus Christ, accepting the seal of obedience and of following Jesus, and confess themselves to be under his cross and suffering to build up a church for him, yet still live heathen lives, I call them backslidden Christians or antichrists.

Just as I mentioned at the beginning that there were two kinds of human beings in the Old Testament, that one kind were the children of God and the other the children of men, so also in the New Testament one kind are the true Christians and the other the backslidden Christians or antichrists. True Christians seek to walk in the path and bear the easy yoke of their Jesus, which is love, joy, peace, patience, chastity, gentleness, goodness, faith, meekness, being compassionate, patient in tribulation, not vengeful, not proud, but lowly, meek, not seeking wealth and honor or high office, but committing themselves to their Creator and putting themselves under the banner of their Jesus. They give to Caesar what is Caesar's and to God what is God's. They are not headstrong or rebels against God but suffer everything patiently; but the antichrists or children of men of this world are not so, but are greedy, wrathful, unfriendly, disobedient to the Word of God, curse and swear, murder, rob and steal their neighbor's goods, gang together to persecute their fellow subjects, strike with the fist, commit ungodly fornication and adultery and perform all kinds of abomination and trample the blood of Jesus underfoot and still claim to be good Christians. But the firm foundation of God stands and has this seal: the Lord [knows his own], and those who name the name of Jesus Christ separate themselves from the unrighteous [world, as can be read in] Psalm 1:6 and Matthew 7:23.

(—John F. Funk Collection, Hist. Mss. 1-1-4, Box 51. Translated from the German by Elizabeth Bender.)

Brunk Ancestors

PART II

IVAN W. BRUNK

In 1776 persons named Brunk were living in New York, Pennsylvania, Maryland, Virginia and possibly in other colonies. There is uncertainty as to whether the early Brunks were Mennonites. The purpose of this article is to present what has been found concerning their church affiliation, military service, migrations, and other particulars of their lives, from colonial times until 1850. In many cases, only limited information is available, since births, marriages and deaths were not usually recorded. Early Mennonite church records were rarely transcribed. Records have been lost because of the burning of court-houses and for other reasons. However, valuable data can be obtained from deeds, tax and census records, and sometimes from estate records. Items of interest are sometimes available because of contacts that Brunks had with other persons.

This study will be limited to Christopher, John and Jacob Brunk and their descendants. They are first found in Pennsylvania, and are the ones most likely to have been Mennonites. (The Brunks in New York, after whom the Bronx was named, are descended from Jonas Bronk or Bronck, a Dane or Swede who came to New Amsterdam by way of Holland in 1639. The New York Brunks come from Mattheus Brunck, who was in New York by 1710.) Christopher, John and Jacob may have been brothers, and possibly sons of George Bronk, who died intestate in Warwick Township, Lancaster County, Pennsylvania in 1733.

1. Christopher Brunk. The first mention of Christopher found so far is in warrants #51 and #55, for fifty acres of land each in Cumberland, now Snyder County. These were issued in 1755 by the proprietaries of the Province of Pennsylvania to Stophel Brunk. The first, in the forks of Middle Creek, was not pursued (surveyed and patented), and the eventual owner is not known. The second was patented in 1828 by Ner Middlesworth, one of the most widely known men of Snyder County. The location was apparently about one and one-half miles east of Beavertown.

Christopher may have left Snyder County because of the French and Indian War. On October 16, 1755, fifteen settlers were killed along Penn's Creek, the closest, only about five miles northeast of Christopher's land. He is found next in York

County, where he obtained a warrant for fifty acres, York County #98, in 1762. The location was along the west side of the Susquehanna River, south of Harrisburg, and the Pennsylvania Turnpike now crosses it.

In 1767 Christopher was a tenant in the Conococheague Manor of the late Lord Baltimore in Frederick, now Washington County, Maryland, southwest of Hagerstown. He leased two tracts, #44 of ninety-nine acres, and #45 of 172 acres. On the first was a dwelling house, thirty by twenty, with round logs and shingles, and a building thirty by eighteen, hewn logs and shingles. The barn was sixty by twenty-eight, with round logs and shingles. There were two outhouses, with round logs; eight acres meadow, forty acres woods, a good spring and an orchard with 200 trees. The land was level and ten percent was rocky. The second tract had no house or spring, but was watered by a branch in winter, and included an orchard of 120 trees.

Christopher secured a patent in 1773 for twenty-one acres in Augusta, now Rockingham County, Virginia, from George the Third. It was on Cedar Creek, north of Harrisonburg. He also obtained 240 and 122 acres by a deed in 1777. John Brunk, son of Christopher, received fifty acres by patent from George the Third in 1774, and 215 acres by deed in 1775. The original deed for the sale of the patented land in 1780 was in German. One of the witnesses to the signature of John Brunk was "Abrm. Lincoln," grandfather of the future president.

In 1776 the Lincolns were probably neighbors of the Brunks, although the exact location of the Brunk land is not known. Abraham Lincoln was captain of a militia company, organized not only for military drills as needed, but also for taxation. On October 16, 1776, Lincoln reported eleven delinquents from his company, including John Brunk and Christopher Brunk, who had each missed seven musters. Christopher was summoned on October 16, 1776, to appear before a court-martial for Augusta County, to show cause why he had missed seven musters. On October 15, 1777, he was acquitted and "Exempted from duty until he recovers his health." On April 17, 1777, Lincoln reported John Brunk, Christopher Brunk and others as absentees from musters.

The next sojourn of this Brunk tribe was in North Carolina, now in northeast Tennessee. From 1784-89 this area was the unofficial state of Franklin, which failed by one vote of becoming a state in the union.

There are three land grants in 1784 from the state of North Carolina to Christopher, a total of 550 acres in Washington County. The land was sold in 1786 and 1788. One of the deeds states: "... County of Washington and State of Franklin, alias North Carolina. ..." On a 1781 tax list are the names of Christian Brunk, Dunkard; John Brunk, Dunkard; and Chrisn. Brunk, Dunkard. An undated tax list, but before 1783, includes: Christophier Brunk; Christin Brunk, Menonist; and Jno. Brunk, Menonist. It appears that only the church affiliations of Dunkards, Quakers and "Menonists" were included in the tax lists. Patterned after the military, the colonel commandant of the county appointed militia company captains to "take in the list of taxables" and make returns to the clerk. During the 1780s the settlers in this area were greatly disturbed by Indian attacks and wars, and for at least the second time it appears that the Brunks moved on because of this situation.

Brunks are found next in Greenville County, South Carolina. In the 1790 census are: Chris. Brunk, Senr., with three persons and one slave; John Brunk, six persons; and Christopher Brunk, six persons. Christina, daughter of Christopher, Sr., married Thomas Whitman, and in that family in the census were four persons. Christopher, Sr., bought 640 acres in Greenville County in 1789 and sold it in 1795. A meeting house and one-half acre of land were reserved for religious purposes. The church was known as "Brunk's Meeting House."

The Brunks and Whitmans went from South Carolina to Hardin County, Kentucky. Christopher, Christopher, Jr., David and John Brunk are on the 1800 tax list in Hardin County, but Brunks had obtained land in Kentucky before 1800. Jacob, likely a son of Christopher, Sr., was probably there by 1790. He is in the tax list in Bullitt County in 1800, and lived in Christian County by 1807. (The census of 1850 indicated that he had six slaves). John Brunk, who died in Lincoln County, Missouri in 1842, was probably a son of Jacob. John's slaves were divided among his children at his death. Harrison, son of John, was reported to have gone to Illinois at the age of four, and then to Missouri in a few years. In 1849 Harrison took his family to Oregon. John Brunk is listed in the Illinois census of 1818 in Madison County, and is on the tax list of 1821 in Bedford Township, Lincoln County, Missouri. Thus, it is possible that he was the first Brunk

not only in Illinois, but also in Missouri.

Christopher, Sr., died in 1810 in his eightieth year. David, most likely his youngest son who was born in Virginia about 1775, obtained land in Menard County, Illinois in 1833, and died there in 1853. The Thomas Whitman family went to Sangamon County, Illinois, and the parents died there in 1830. John, son of Christopher, Sr., was a friend of Dennis Hanks and a prominent member of the South Fork Baptist Church of Hodgenville, Kentucky. Some of the acquaintances and relatives of the Thomas and Nancy Lincoln family belonged to that church. Abraham, father of Thomas, brought his family to Kentucky from Virginia about 1783. But only a few years later he was killed by an Indian. Abraham, the future president and son of Thomas, was born near Hodgenville in 1809. The Lincoln relatives were among the fourteen members who withdrew from the South Fork Church about 1811 because of the slavery question. They are believed to have formed the Little Mount Baptist Church a few miles east of Hodgenville. Thomas was baptized there in 1816, not long before he took his family to Indiana. Thus, Brunks and Lincolns were neighbors and perhaps friends for the second time.

John died in 1828, and his will names his eight children and the husbands of all but one of his daughters. Jacob went to Lincoln County, Missouri, after 1830 and obtained land there in 1836. Elizabeth married George Burkhardt, and they went to Johnson County, Indiana, in 1822. John was in Johnson County by 1826 when he served on a jury there, and he moved to Brown County, Illinois, before 1850. Abraham went to Johnson County before 1830 and to Brown County by 1831. One of his children was reported to have been the first born in Lee Township. He went to California during the gold rush fever and died there in 1851. John and Abraham, and George Burkhardt are listed in the 1830 census in Johnson County. They and Elizabeth are in a list of the earliest members of the First Mt. Pleasant Baptist Church, Franklin Township, Johnson County, organized in 1828. William Brunk, probably a son of Abraham, was in the Mexican War. He deserted at Matamoros, Mexico, in 1847, and military records indicate that he was supposed to have been murdered.

Christopher, Jr., is in the 1810 census of Hardin County. The names of his children are assumed, and

some are not known. Jesse, one of the oldest, was in Morgan County, Illinois, by 1830. Another Jesse, probably a son of the first Jesse, bought land in Schuyler County, Illinois, in 1835. James, and Matilda, who married Samuel D. Wells, went to Davis County, Iowa, about 1846. Some of the grandchildren also went to Iowa.

Other Brunks, whose exact lineage has not yet been determined, also migrated from Kentucky before 1850. They include: David, in Hancock County, Illinois, by 1840, born in Kentucky about 1815; James, to Franklin County, Missouri, in the 1840s; and William, in Franklin County by 1850, born in Kentucky about 1816.

2. John Brunk. In Warwick Township, Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, where George Bronk died in 1733, John Brunk is on a list of freemen (not married, over 21) in the tax assessment of 1756. John Brunk acquired at least 250 acres of land in Newberry Township, York County, in 1762 and 1770. The location was along the west shore of the Susquehanna, at the mouth of Fishing Creek, about five or six miles south of the location of Christopher Brunk's land. A grist mill was built there by 1750, and was owned for more than a quarter of a century by "John Prunk." It was known as the Red Mill, and a survey mentions: "... across the great road leading to Prunk's Mill." In 1783 the tax list for John Prunk included a grist mill, a saw mill, three houses, three horses, and six cattle, with a value of 1104 pounds, one of the highest in the township.

John Bronks is #75, seven class, in the return of the officers and men of the Second Battalion, First Company, York County Militia, April 17, 1778. Letters of administration were granted in 1782 to Elizabeth Brunck and John Brunck, for the estate of John Brunck. John Pronk, Jr., was by judgment of the court of appeals exempt from military duty at Newberry, August 28, 1782. The reason for the exemption is not given. From 1798 to 1849 there are many court records in York County about the Brunks because of deaths. John Brunk or Brunck, private, is also mentioned three times in the Pennsylvania Archives in connection with his service in the Militia ("now in service of the United States, October 23, 1814," etc.). He was very likely the grandson of the first John, and was discharged in December 1814 at Philadelphia, sixty miles distant from his home.

There are no known Brunk survivors from this clan. John (I)

died in 1782 and his only known child was John (II), who died in 1798. He had three sons: John (III), whose only child was a girl; Jacob, who married but died without children; and David, who died unmarried.

3. Jacob Brunk. In a history of Dauphin County, Pennsylvania, it is stated that Anna Stouffer married Jacob Brunk. Jacob and Anna owned 144 acres of land on Spring Creek, Derry Township, Lancaster, now Dauphin County. Deeds indicate that it was acquired in 1767 and sold in 1774, although they were in Maryland in 1767. Thus, the deeds were prepared or recorded a number of years after the transactions took place. The 144 acres are now part of the present town of Hershey. A deed in 1761 showed Jacob Proank as an adjoining landowner, and a survey of adjoining land in 1757 lists "Jacob Proank."

In 1767 Jacob Brunk was a tenant in the Conococheague Manor in Maryland in which Christopher also lived. Jacob's tract of 175 acres was #52 and had an old dwelling house, twenty-two by eighteen, round logs; two small outhouses, round logs, very old. There were about ten acres meadow, not very good, an orchard of one-hundred trees, a good lasting spring, one-hundred acres of woods, and ten percent of the land was stony. Additional information about the property, livestock, etc., is in the 1783 valuation of property of Washington County.

Jacob bought land in 1775 on the south side of Brock's Creek in Augusta, now Rockingham County, Virginia. And he was granted sixty-nine acres in 1785 by Patrick Henry, governor of the Commonwealth of Virginia. These tracts were apparently not far from those of Christopher and John. However, as far as is known, Jacob never lived in Virginia. He died in 1787 on his leased land in Maryland, and his will names his eleven children. There are many details about the settlement of his estate, including an inventory of his possessions and lists of those indebted to him. About fifty persons owed him money, including "Henry the Butcher at Funks Town."

The executor of Jacob's estate was Christian Newcomer, who has been called the John Wesley of the United Brethren Church. Newcomer moved from Pennsylvania to Maryland, withdrew from the Mennonite Church and began his ministry of preaching about 1777. He and Martin Boehm, also a former Mennonite, were very active in helping the new

denomination, and both later became bishops. Newcomer is noted for his journal, which records, although incompletely, his labors and journeys from 1795 to 1830. After the death of Jacob Brunk, the family moved to Rockingham County, probably in 1796. Newcomer's journal mentions at least six stops with the Brunks there, staying overnight or preaching, from 1797 to 1819.

There are no Brunks listed in Maryland records among those granted exemption from military service during the Revolution. And there are no records of Brunks in the militia. However, it is understood that many records of the militia have been lost.

John, son of Jacob, and probably the oldest, bought land in Botetourt County, Virginia, in 1793 and was a resident there by 1800. His descendants were in a number of counties of southwest Virginia by 1850. Jacob's sons, Daniel and George, were married in 1797 in Rockingham County and Jacob (II)'s second marriage took place there in 1802. The marriages of George and Jacob (II) were performed by John Walsh, a Methodist minister.

Jacob (II) and Daniel inherited their father's land in Virginia. Daniel sold his share in 1805 and went to Ohio. He was the first to settle in Norwich Township, Franklin County. He was the first justice of the peace in the township, serving from 1813 to 1824. Daniel and his wife were among the early members of the Christie Methodist Episcopal Church, organized by 1808. Daniel was one of two early preachers. Samuel, oldest son of Daniel, went to Daviess County, Missouri, about 1840. On a list of licensed tavern keepers is: Norwich Township — Brunk, Samuel (Daniel), 1833-35. Another son, Elijah, was in Logan County, Ohio, about 1832. A daughter, Mary, married Abraham Aldrich, a physician, and they were in Clark County, Ohio, before 1850.

Four of Jacob (I)'s children went to Clermont County, Ohio, about 1803. Joseph married there in 1805 and was a soldier in the War of 1812. David married in Clermont County in 1818, apparently his second marriage. Children of George were born in Ohio by 1804, and Jacob's daughter, Barbara, married William Malott before coming to Ohio. Joseph, David, William and George are on the 1812 tax list in Clermont County. George, son of George, went to Sangamon County, Illinois, in 1821. In the spring of 1822 he helped the Dillons build a cabin, broke the prairie and planted corn in Tazewell County, Illinois, where the town of Dillon now stands.

Within a few years he returned to Ohio and brought his mother, step-father, brother and sisters to Sangamon County. He worked for a few years in the lead mines near Galena, Illinois. In 1829 he built one of the first stone houses in Sangamon County. It is standing today, occupied by Brunks. In 1929 it was stated: "On the route to the state capital at Vandalia, it frequently offered hospitality to notables. Long before he attained fame in the law or politics, Abraham Lincoln there broke bread with the Brunks." A pantry in the house was once the office of Dr. V. T. Lindsey, father of the distinguished poet. David, brother of George (II) served in the Blackhawk War.

Jacob (II) had three children baptized at the Raders Lutheran Church, Timberville, near Broadway, Virginia, 1797-1800. In 1811, John Lincoln, Jr., deeded land to Jacob Brunk. This Lincoln was a surveyor and acquired many pieces of land in Rockingham County. There are a number of transactions involving Lincoln and the Brunks, but many of the deeds have been burned or lost. In 1785 John Lincoln obtained land, adjoining his own, and that of Brunk, and others.

Jacob (III) went to Fairfield County, Ohio, and married there in 1821. He went to Henry County, Indiana, about 1835. By 1848 he and other Brunks had purchased land in Howard County, Indiana. Catharina, daughter of Jacob (II), married Jacob Good in 1820 in Rockingham County, and they went to Henry County, Indiana, about 1836.

4. Summary and discussion. Brunks, who were in Pennsylvania in the 1750s or earlier, migrated to many other states. They were pioneers, and in some cases, the first settlers in a number of areas of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Iowa and Missouri. By about 1850 they had been in California and Mexico and were settled in Oregon. There are some records of their church affiliation and military service, a few of their slave holdings, and one, of exemption from military service. Evidence as to whether they were originally Mennonites or not is mostly inconclusive. However, the one reference (ca. 1782) to several as being "Menonists" is significant. But most of the Brunks migrated to places where they were the only Mennonites, and they affiliated with other denominations.

As far as is known, only one of the children of Christopher, John or Jacob lived in a Mennonite community. Jacob (II) was in Rock-

ingham County, Virginia, from about 1796 until his death in 1831. But three of his children were baptized in a Lutheran church and his second marriage was performed by a Methodist minister. It appears that Brunks who are Mennonites today are mostly descendants of Jacob (II)'s oldest son Christian, who married a Mennonite, Barbara Funk, and some of Jacob (II)'s grandsons also married Mennonites. So it appears that the Mennonite Brunks today can be thankful, or otherwise, for those pioneer Mennonite girls who married Brunks.

(Acknowledgements. The assistance of a number of persons in supplying helpful information is gratefully acknowledged, including: Stan Brunk, Harry Brunk, Ruth B. Hawkins, Walter Sanders, Ruth Cast, William Scroggins, Clifton Brunk and Louise B. Maxwell. The first five and the author are descendants of Jacob (I) and the last two are descended from Christopher, Sr.)

Recent Publications

Troyer, Clarence. *History of Villages — People — Places in Eastern Holmes County*. Berlin, OH, Berlin Printing, 1975. 168 pp. Illus. \$3.75 postpaid. Order from Berlin Printing, Box 224, Berlin, Ohio 44610.

Yoder, Mrs. Norman M. and Amanda N. Hershberger. *Family Record of Isaac J. Hershberger and Veronica I. Miller, 1850-1974*. 101 pp. \$4.20 hardback, \$2.70 paperback, postpaid. Order from: Amanda N. Hershberger, R. 2, Burton, Ohio 44021 or Mrs. Norman M. Yoder, R. 1, Box 148a, Cottage Grove, Tenn. 38224.

Miller, Dan A. *History of Arthur, Illinois; also Records of Deaths, Marriages, and Minister Ordinations*. 76 pp. \$4.50. Dan A. Miller, Rt. 2, Box 59, Arthur, Ill. 61911.

Family Record of John H. Kurtz and His Descendants. Prepared by David T. and Elsie Yoder and Joseph E. Kurtz, 159 pp. Indexed. Order from David T. Yoder, Star Rt., Box 24, Belleville, Pa. 17004. \$3.00 postpaid.

Miller Family History; Descendants of Daniel D. Miller and Lydia B. Troyer. 99 pp. Illus. Order from Oscar Miller, Box 229, Berlin, Ohio 44610. \$4.00.

Family History and Genealogy of Jacob Wagner Gingerich and Veronica Litwiller, 1825-1975. Compiled by Clara Roth, et al. Baden, Ont., 1975.

The Historical Committee, 1975

For the past several years the MHB has not been publishing what earlier had been an annual feature—namely, the Historical Committee minutes in excerpted form.

We feel that it is time to bring the Bulletin reader up to date on these deliberations; we furthermore solicit a continuing response from our readership. Indeed, traditionally, Mennonite historical research has been carried by a wide variety of individuals whose common denominator is some sort of interest in history and ideas.

The most obvious questions to be posed, with a view to the minutes, are: 1) What new items should be placed on the agenda? 2) How can we best move ahead with agenda items? 3) Who is already working in these areas? 4) Who is interested in pursuing certain of these areas of research and study?

We sincerely hope that the work of the Historical Committee may continue to be the result of the combined efforts of many; by publishing our minutes, we may spur some of you on beyond your present level of participation in the historical.

—L.G.

Excerpts from the Minutes of the Annual Meeting of the Historical Committee of the Mennonite Church; Held at the Germantown Mennonite Meetinghouse, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania; October 9-10, 1975

Historical Committee Members

Present: Lorna Bergey; Hubert Brown; Carolyn L. Charles, secretary; Jan Gleysteen (proxy for Levi Miller, Scottdale); Leonard Gross, executive secretary; John A. Hostetler, chairman, and James O. Lehman, vice-chairman.

1. Melvin Gingerich Appreciation.

Action I. The following message was accepted to be sent with a letter by Leonard Gross to Mrs. Verna Gingerich in appreciation for the widely felt influence of her late husband:

"The Historical Committee of the Mennonite Church, meeting at the Germantown Mennonite Meetinghouse, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, on October 9-10, 1975, noted with a profound sense of loss the passing of Melvin Gingerich. We are only beginning to comprehend the contribution made by Melvin as executive secretary of the Committee and as archivist of the Mennonite Church. We appreciate the ongoing contribution made by him after his official retirement five years ago.

"We remember again the stature he held among professional archivists, the contribution he made to historical research, his editorial accomplishments, the works he authored, his love for books, the influence and encouragement given to younger associates, and the enthusiasm he held for the content and message of history. We are grateful to God for his gift to the Historical Committee.

"We express our sympathy to his wife Verna and son Owen and family and pray that the grace of God

might be deeply felt in this experience of loss."

2. Election of Officers. *Action II.*

The following members were elected to the respective Historical Committee offices for two-year terms: John A. Hostetler, chairman; James O. Lehman, vice-chairman; Carolyn L. Charles, secretary.

3. Mennonite Publishing House

Liaison. *Action IV.* The Historical Committee expresses appreciation to the Mennonite Publishing House for releasing Jan Gleysteen as a liaison between the Mennonite Publishing House and the Historical Committee. Recognizing his effective work in the Mennonite Church on behalf of heritage concerns during the past several years, we welcome his attendance at Historical Committee annual meetings on a regular basis in the future.

4. Publicity. The executive secretary introduced his annual report, noting church-wide activities, research, and program responsibilities carried for the period January 1, 1974-June 30, 1975. The ensuing discussion highlighted the need for increased church-wide awareness of the function of the Historical Committee and its archives as not only a service organization but also as a program-oriented agency (Ref. min. 19, *Action XII*, October 1974).

5. Mennonite Information Guides.

"The Mennonites: A Brief Guide to Information," now out of print, needs revision, possibly including rearrangement of the bibliographical section according to high school and graduate study levels. Despite

availability of Dyck's *Introduction to Mennonite History* (early college level), Bender and Smith's *Mennonite Heritage* (congregational study series), and Hostetler's *Mennonite Life* (congregational life), it was suggested that perhaps the Historical Committee should consider producing a popular, current, condensed history/study guide giving an overview of 450 years of Mennonite history.

Action VIII. Leonard Gross shall cooperate with Cornelius Krahn in updating "The Mennonites: A Brief Guide to Information" with a view to producing a balanced bibliography on Old Mennonites and Russian Mennonites.

6. Promotional Pamphlets. Leonard Gross noted that copies of Nelson P. Springer's "The Duties of the Conference Historian" and Melvin Gingerich's "The Work of the Local Church Historian" are still available for distribution.

7. Mennonite Encyclopedia Revision.

Preliminary discussions indicate that a major revision of the *Mennonite Encyclopedia* is due in the 1980's. Minutes by Melvin Gingerich of a 1972 meeting relative to this project are filed in the Archives.

8. World War I Project. *Action*

X. The Historical Committee took action to consider the World War I research project, based on materials gathered by Guy F. Hershberger, closed till such time as a doctoral candidate is able to pursue it to completion (Ref. min. 6, October 1972).

9. Scholarship Coordination.

Considerable discussion centered on the role of the Historical Committee in coordinating Anabaptist-Mennonite scholarship. There was some indication that non-Mennonite, secular, and European scholars have monopolized the interpretation of Mennonite history. Despite the need for a continued flow of scholarship from the 16th century era, many younger Mennonite scholars are choosing American studies without having had the Anabaptist background. There was consensus of opinion that the Historical Committee should encourage scholarship that emphasizes the larger past and that examines precedents, principles, and theology through history. The return to Anabaptism tends to melt differences and produce common ground for a faith and spiritual heritage that all can affirm and which is larger than ethnic or intellectual pride. Only through this approach can Anabaptism authentically relate to the nonspecialist in portraying the pres-

ent as part of the continuing story of the people of God.

10. Staff and Budget. Leonard Gross reported that since the loss of a full-time person with the passing of Melvin Gingerich, the total archives program has become extremely tight. To handle the numerous research requests, he urgently needs a full-time associate archivist, along with a half-time secretary plus student assistants. It was also noted that the executive secretary has been serving well beyond the nine months for which he is being paid and has also personally assumed much of his travel expenses because of a tight budget.

11. Conference / Congregational Historians. In light of the conviction of Historical Committee members that the office of conference historian has an integrity beyond that of service, there was consensus of opinion that the need exists to raise consciousness at the conference level with regard to the role of the position in providing leadership.

Action XIV. The Historical Committee agreed to pursue implementation of a three-fold vision with regard to the work of conference historians:

a. Conference historians should report annually to their respective conference districts and also to the executive secretary of the Historical Committee.

b. Conference historians with the support of their respective conference executive bodies should arrange for a historian in each congregation and provide for these officers an information manual outlining their responsibilities.

c. Local conference and possibly congregational historians may be invited to meet with the Historical Committee at Assembly '77 and/or whenever geographically convenient.

12. Civil War Studies. James O. Lehman was requested to prepare a report for the next Historical Committee meeting regarding the status of Civil War studies.

11. Colonial Mennonite Sourcebook. James O. Lehman reported that the editorial team for the colonial Mennonite sourcebook consists of Samuel L. Horst, chairman; Richard K. MacMaster, and Robert F. Ulle. Gerald C. Studer serves as chairman of the inter-conference supervising committee, which is counselled by a well-qualified group of historians. The book may not be completed in time for 1976 publication if quality is to remain uncompromised.

12. Mennonite Tricentennial. Action XV. In view of concerns and developments since 1974, the Historical Committee affirms inter-Mennonite efforts to encourage dialogue regarding a broad, analytical study of three centuries of American Mennonite history for 1983 (Ref. min. 7, October 14, 1974, Inter-Mennonite Committee of Historians).

13. Executive Secretary Reappointment. Action XVI. Leonard Gross was reappointed and affirmed as executive secretary of the Historical Committee and as director of the archives and the research program of the Historical Committee.

14. Mennonite Historical Association. Discussion of the Mennonite Historical Association centered on the need of greater distribution of the *Mennonite Historical Bulletin* through direct mailings, exhibits, and other means at the discretion of the executive secretary.

Action XVIII. The minimum Mennonite Historical Association membership or *Mennonite Historical Bulletin* subscription for 1976 shall be \$5.00 per year.

Action XIX. All members of the Mennonite Historical Association shall receive the annual report of the executive secretary of the Historical Committee.

15. Anabaptist Heritage Emphasis. Action XX. The Historical Committee expresses warm appreciation to the Mennonite Publishing House for its part in making possible the Anabaptist congregational Bulletin Series, the Anabaptist Heritage Study Guide, and the Heritage Slide Series. A deep appreciation for TourMagination's travel-study ministry was also noted.

16. Meetinghouse Architecture Study. Jan Gleysteen reported that he has collected over 300 photographs and slides of meetinghouse architecture, which would provide a solid resource for a slide series as well as articles in church magazines and newspapers, Sunday school curriculum materials, congregational bulletins, and special pamphlets (Exhibit I).

Action XXI. Jan Gleysteen and Leonard Gross were commissioned to implement development of the meetinghouse architecture study as an educational contribution to the church.

17. Black History. In light of the fact that one-third of the Mennonite Church belongs to the Third World, Hubert Brown expressed concern that the Historical Committee promote serious scholarship on the larger story of blacks entering the Mennonite Church as well as biographical studies and histories of minority congregations (See Exhibit II).

Action XXII. Leonard Gross shall convey by letter to the Student Services Committee the Historical Committee's interest in pursuing newer patterns of Mennonite relationships and shall include copies to C. J. Dyck and the Black Caucus.

Action XXIII. The Historical Committee affirms Hubert Brown and Willard Roth in producing an oral history of Bishop James Lark of California and in collecting related historical materials.

18. MQR Commemorative Issue. Action XXV. In view of Melvin Gingerich's direct involvement with *Mennonite Quarterly Review* and his creative scholarship in the field of Mennonite history and thought, the Historical Committee considers it highly appropriate for the editor to produce a commemorative issue.

19. Liaison Representatives. Action XXVI. In an attempt to achieve greater balance in the work of the Historical Committee, it was agreed to invite to Historical Committee meetings on a regular basis such liaison representatives as needed, or as suitable because of geographic location.

20. Germantown Corporation Representatives. Leonard Gross supplied background on the development of the present system for appointing Mennonite Church representatives to the Germantown Corporation.

Action XXVII. The Historical Committee affirms the need for the Mennonite Church to be represented in the Germantown Corporation, suggests that candidates be nominated by the Historical Committee and appointed by Mennonite Church General Board, and will arrange for the General Secretary of MCGB to receive minutes and reports of Germantown Corporation meetings.

21. Regional Reporting: Historical Committee members shared the following progress reports, concerns, and goals regarding historical interests in their respective areas:

a. The fall 1975 Lancaster Conference statement on Mennonites and bicentennial celebrations at-

tracted widespread newspaper coverage as well as reactions which evinced strong Fundamentalistic influences in the area.

b. Now that actual restoration of the 1719 Hans Herr House is completed, the Administration Committee is launching its interpretive program with a development and debt-reduction drive to pay recent, additional property purchases. A \$40,000.00 grant from Housing and Urban Development will finance the remodeling of the neighboring farmhouse into a visitor center.

c. The Minister Jacob Mensch (Franconia Conference) Collection of correspondence has been micro-filmed by the Historical Society of Pennsylvania and is available for purchase by libraries and individuals.

d. On his return to Goshen, Leonard Gross will visit Paul Schrock on behalf of the Historical Committee for a current report on the book publishing program, particularly on historical books.

e. John A. Hostetler shared copies of his new book, *Selected Hutterian Documents in Translation, 1542-1654* and noted that he will be analyzing Amish demographic patterns during the next two years in cooperation with Johns Hopkins genetics studies. He is also producing a bibliography on the Plain People for the Balch Institute in Philadelphia.

f. The Germantown Mennonite congregation, which holds dual membership in the Franconia Conference (OM) and the General Conference Mennonite Church, is experiencing a new spirit of brotherhood and development.

g. John L. Ruth joined the group at 8:35 p.m. and shared news of Franconia Conference's bicentennial pamphlet, his vision of a historical fiction saga of Franconia Conference Mennonites, a modern-day *Martyrs Mirror*, a *Mennonite Weekly Review* serial on the Mennonite experience in the Revolutionary War, and a bicentennial brochure and invitation to faith for tourists.

—Respectfully submitted, Carolyn L. Charles, secretary.

Exhibit I: Study of Mennonite Meetinghouse Architecture

The study of Mennonite meetinghouse architecture, an unfinished project of Melvin Gingerich, was reassigned by the Historical Committee of the Mennonite Church to Jan Gleysteen several years ago.

In Gleysteen's hands the meetinghouse topic will probably not par-

allel Melvin Gingerich's study on costume, but will rather develop in the direction of a more popular and practical history of meetinghouses past and present. It will include the People-of-God concept as well as the theology, the tradition, and the principles of stewardship and simplicity underlying the meetinghouse style.

As a by-product of his extensive travels, Jan Gleysteen has been building up a sizeable photograph collection of meetinghouses of the various groups of Mennonites. In May of this year he was asked by the Board of Congregational Ministries to produce one of nine papers on the topic for a consultation on Church Building Services, held at Goshen, Indiana, May 30-31.

A series of articles on meetinghouse architecture has been planned for publication in the spring issues of *Builder magazine*. One slide story in the Heritage Series slide sets will deal with meetinghouses.

Although the meetinghouse study was not Gleysteen's first priority until now, it may well become a high priority due to the increasing demand for guidelines and information requested by congregations.

—Respectfully submitted by Jan Gleysteen, October 9, 1975.

Exhibit II: Thoughts for the Historical Committee Meeting, October 9, 1975

"I think that there is the growing recognition by Afro-Americans of the possibility that within the heart of our Blackness there is a gift in the most marvelous biblical sense of the word. Not the pleasant, pointless, painless tinsel-wrapped experience that we think of when we think of gifts, nor the romanticized gifts claimed by so many oppressed people to relieve the deadliness of man's existence. Rather, when I speak of a gift it is in terms of the tough, hammered-out, often brutal experience which nevertheless produces a new reality, a new reality that may benefit the entire society and the entire world—to say nothing of the benefit that it might bring to those who call themselves the church."—Ronald Fair.*

With this new reality, that is, this gift of Blackness, comes new responsibilities and deeper levels of trust by the dominant culture toward minorities, particularly because it has not come heretofore. Somehow the gift of Blackness, this "driving and unalloyed will for wholeness of human life" as Vin-

cent Harding* speaks of it, must be recognized and utilized for the edification of the Mennonite Church.

I highly encourage the Historical Committee to think and act with me on concrete proposals to research areas of Black participation and association direct and indirect with the church.

For years this committee has significantly studied, funded, approved projects on Mennonite Life and History and much of this, indeed nearly all of it, centered on those who are a part of the 450 year ethnic and cultural reality.

This action has left racial Mennonites in the church with a feeling of no past, no present, and no future. The legitimacy of probing your history and mine, too, from a spiritual sense, should be the basis of commitment to other racial groups.

While I have deep faith in the church, and warm affirmation for the work of this committee, I am quite concerned about upwardness and onwardness of a tremendous task we have—to present the whole history of the church. A history which includes all of us.

My personal conviction and enthusiasm would be for the development of research on the following: 1) a history of blacks in the Mennonite Church; 2) the biography of James Lark; 3) contemporary black Anabaptists—a book of current blacks suffering for the gospel; and, 4) a collection of the histories of minority churches.

"In order for black and white Americans to work together most effectively in the days ahead, there must be some new patterns of relationship."

"A precondition for working effectively in unity in the days ahead will be the willingness of white Americans to take a far different attitude toward black people than they have taken in the past. It calls for not much more than a sincere and conscious effort to be genuinely human. . . ."

—Respectfully submitted,
Hubert L. Brown.

*Quotes taken from *Let's Work Together*, by Nathan Wright, Jr.

Recent Publications

Sesquicentennial History of the Berlin Community: 1816-1966, Berlin, Ohio. Compiled by the Berlin Sesquicentennial Historical Committee: Oscar R. Miller, chairman. Second edition, 1967. Available from Roy R. Miller, Route 5, Mil-

lersburg, Ohio 44654. This volume, although ten years old, merits noting in the *MHB* because of the especially good documentation of the broader context of local history. The Mennonites and the Amish are included, of course, and the inter-relatedness of the various groups within this community are brought together in a solid social-history context.

Mennonite Safari. By David W. Shenk. Scottsdale, Pa.: Herald Press, 1974. Paperback. 135 pp. \$1.50. This volume chronicles in a semi-popular fashion, the history of Mennonite mission in Africa. The story is confined basically to the African mission work of the Eastern Mennonite Board of Missions and Charities, the home offices of which are in Salunga, Pennsylvania.

Graber, Joe S. and Floyd L. Stutzman. *Family Record of David D. Schrock and Catherine K. Miller and their Descendants.* n.p., 1974. 67 pp., indexed. Order from Joe S. Graber, R #1, Arthur, Ill. 61911.

Troyer, Milo R. *Descendants of John F. Troyer and Pauline J. Mullet, [and] Adella Mueller Ryser.* Order from the author, 3181 Dover Road, Wooster, Ohio 44691. 80 p. Includes Index of Family Heads and Index of Marriage Partners. \$4.00.

Hulen, L. E. *Descendants of Christian Rediger and Elizabeth Eigsti.* 1971. 235 p. illus. Order from the author at 15536 Tetley St., Hacienda Heights, Calif. 91745.

Beachy, Leroy. *Cemetery Directory of the Amish Community in Eastern Holmes and Adjoining Counties in Ohio.* 1975. 200 pp. Attractively printed and bound. Order from: Heritage Publications, Box 87, Star Route, Millersburg, Ohio 44654. \$9.25 postpaid.

Yoder, Ellen Kauffman. *The Genealogy of Stephen and Mary King Kauffman.* 1973. 33 pp. \$1.25. Duplicated copy in report folder. Order from the author at Rt. 2, Box 343, Garden City, Mo. 64747.

Book Reviews

Conrad Grebel, Son of Zurich. By John L. Ruth. Scottsdale, Pa. and Kitchener, Ont.: Herald Press, 1975. 160 pp. \$6.95.

In this volume Dr. Ruth brings to vigorous and authentic life one person within that triumvirate which in 1525 precipitated the birth of the Anabaptist movement. Since the book is a biography, the story is properly told in the manner of a novel; but let no reader be under the impression that it is anything but a meticulously researched, his-

torical account — accurate in its characters, geography, and chronology. The author tells the story of Conrad Grebel, one of the founders of Anabaptism, as he was, "warts and all."

It has been my privilege to serve on the Mennonite Heritage Council of the Christian Nurture Commission (Franconia Mennonite Conference) which in turn served as a reference group for the author's various historical endeavors, and I have been impressed again and again with Dr. Ruth's command of history and concern for accuracy in addition to his skillfulness in communicating both the feel and the facts he is recounting. He is thoroughly familiar with the scene of Grebel's life and labors, and with the documents carefully preserved in the archives and libraries of Europe.

The late Harold S. Bender wrote the first definitive biography of Conrad Grebel, but it will be read by relatively few because of its length, its attention to technical details, and its higher price. Alongside of most significant and comprehensive source books of data concerning leading men and events is the need for a briefer and more popular account, if "everyman" is to read it. Bender's volume is a volume for the study; this is one for the coffee-table.

This book is handsomely designed and beautifully illustrated with a wider-than-usual page, antique-map endsheets, and Caslon-foundry-type titles in a brown-black ink. True to its purpose of being a biography for the non-scholar, it is without footnotes, bibliography and indices. It is a "must" for every church, Sunday school, and public library, and recommended for home libraries. This book stokes the fires of the earnest Christian's imagination, and helps grant courage to live faithfully "for the glory of Christ."

—G.C.S.

Dirk Philips, 1504-1568. By Marja Keyser. Nieuwkoop, The Netherlands: B. De Graaf, 1975. 168 pp. \$26.75.

This book is an annotated catalogue of Philips' printed works in the University Library of Amsterdam and includes a foreword by Prof. H. de la Fontaine Verve and an introduction by Dr. S. L. Verheus. Why should such a book be published? The answer includes some elements of a detective story; but first, let us give a bit of background.

The publication of the *Bibliotheca Mennonitica*, a series of catalogues of early printed works, is an important event in the world of church historians and bibliographers. These

works are chiefly in the possession of the Amsterdam Mennonite Church Library which in 1968 was handed over on permanent loan to the University Library of Amsterdam. The collection is now more accessible than when it was housed in the historic church, because the opening times were severely limited and good catalogues were lacking. The University Library has charged Miss Keyser with the exacting task of recataloguing the early printed works; for, the earlier works of de Hoop Scheffer and Boekenooogen are outdated.

This is Volume Two in the series, although it is the first volume to be published. The first volume, devoted to the works of Menno Simons, is finished, but cannot be published at present for technical reasons.

The bibliography of Mennonite printed works is particularly problematic since most of those appearing in the sixteenth century were published with no indication of printer's name and address, and often without date because of the continuing severe persecution. Time and again the printing was done by a small band of Anabaptist brothers on clandestine presses located in relatively inaccessible places. If the printing was done by a larger establishment, its name was carefully suppressed and all efforts were made to make the finished product as impersonal as possible so as to foil attempts at identification. Furthermore, the printers obtained virtually identical types from a small number of typefounders. For these reasons it is absolutely essential that detailed descriptions be available for the historians, bibliographers, and antiquarians. The task of identification is decidedly advanced with the publication of this catalogue but it would be inaccurate to say that all the evidence concerning many details is in. Indeed, it may never be finished; but Miss Keyser has exercised extreme caution in her ascriptions.

Dr. Verheus has supplied an excellent introduction in which he notes that Dirk Philips has been acclaimed variously as "having no equal among his fellow-thinkers" (Schijn), "without doubt the leading theologian and dogmatician among the Dutch and North German Mennonites of that time" (van der Zijpp), and "considered by some superior to Menno in his basic learning, his vigor of writing, and his steadfastness in leadership" (G. H. Williams). Verheus himself holds that Philips was "the most theological of the Dutch Mennonite leaders of the initial period," and a noteworthy friend and collaborator

of Menno Simons. The works here described constitute the most systematic and dogmatic treatises to have ever been written by the early Mennonites.

All title-pages are shown in full-page illustration; several portraits of Philips are also included. The titles and contents are reproduced in the original language only, whereas other descriptive materials are in English. Locations of copies in each case are also noted. The book is cloth bound and attractively printed. For so specialized a work the price is reasonable. We look forward to the projected additional volumes in this series.—G. C. S.

Mennonites in Canada, 1786-1920: The History of a Separate People. By Frank H. Epp. Toronto: Macmillan of Canada, 1974. 480 pp. \$9.95.

Described on the jacket as "a comprehensive history of . . . the Canadian Mennonite without regard to geographical, chronological, or denominational limitations," Dr. Epp, President and Associate Professor of History at Conrad Grebel College, University of Waterloo, traces the long and arduous search for a Mennonite identity. The Anabaptist-Mennonite story, from the time of its inception during the turmoil of the Protestant Reformation, involves itself throughout its history with two major ideas: external domination and internal fragmentation.

As the author summarizes in his Epilogue, the end of this first volume of the Canadian Mennonite story bears a resemblance to the time of the movement's birth in 1525, to Pennsylvania prior to 1800, and to Upper Canada around 1800. A constantly recurring theme is the relationship of church to state, which, while generally expressed as "the separation of church and state," again and again turns out to be a confrontation.

The purpose of this work is to describe and recount Canadian Mennonite history for the benefit of all interested Canadians who, precisely because of the strong element of separation that has marked Mennonitism, need to be provided with a better understanding of Mennonite culture, faith and history. C. J. Dyck's *Introduction to Mennonite History* marks a significant turn in that his book was one of the first to encompass all branches of the Mennonite family; but now Epp's work provides a more intensive account of the Canadian Mennonite movements than was available to date.

Sixteen original drawings by Douglas Ratchford complement and illustrate Epp's lucid prose. The book is further complemented by twenty maps and charts distributed throughout the pages at appropriate places. There are fifty pages of bibliography grouped by chapter, plus a seven-page index of titles, subjects, people and places. The index does not include a complete listing of the authors and titles in the bibliography, which means that since there is no single comprehensive alphabetical listing of all sources, one must search through the chapter bibliographies to check a given source. Each chapter is thoroughly footnoted.

This entire treatment is topical rather than a gathering together of separate accounts of congregations and conferences. There are separate and smaller published works in many cases that will provide the student with the more individualized and localized histories. The chapters overview such topics as "The Nonresistors and the Militia," or "The Congregations and their Leaders," or "Mid-century Renewal Movements" with a liberal use of anecdote. Epp's style presumes a degree of sophistication in matters of church history that I fear cannot be found in all possible readers within the Mennonite brotherhood, but which he may properly assume for a wider Canadian readership, which is his stated purpose.

From time to time the account is accented by particularly succinct summaries and comments, as, for example: "Enemies of the Anabaptist movement forever identified Muenster as its centre; friends of the movement forever tried to disown the city. The Reformation, . . . produced a spectrum of human responses, few of them completely right, none of them completely wrong. Anabaptism, like Protestantism, was and remains such a spectrum."

The author also punctuates his analytical narrative with stimulating asides, as for example: "[Menno Simons] . . . renounced the Catholic priesthood in 1536, the same year in which John Calvin . . . was publishing the *Institutes*." There may be times when, for some readers, Epp claims too much, as, for example, when he credits the Anabaptists with starting European humanity on the road to democracy by naming every believer a priest; or undermining established totalitarian authority by their egalitarian teachings and brotherhood structures; or destroying conventional social control by their rejection of infant baptism. At times he speaks pungently

and prophetically to his own tradition as, for example, when he mentions the epithet used in reference to that unfortunate tendency among Anabaptists toward fragmentation which was dubbed in an earlier day: "Täuferkrankheit"; or noting that nonessentials have a way of moving to higher priorities than those set by Menno Simons.

I learned something from a passing comment that especially intrigued me in connection with my special interests in the translation and publication of the Bible, namely, that the Mohawk Indians remained loyal to the British during the Revolutionary wars and consequently were driven from their homes when the Americans prevailed. It happens that the first book of the Bible in any language published by the eminent British and Foreign Bible Society was the Gospel of John in the Mohawk language in 1804, of which small edition I am happy to possess a copy.

Epp constantly drops bits of fascinating information, as when he notes that the first Mennonite Sunday schools in North America arose in Upper Canada, or that Benjamin Eby may have been the first Mennonite printer in North America. Also noted is the birth of Mennonite Zionism and the affiliation of Klaas Peters with the Swedenborgian Church.

The book is handsomely and sturdily bound and the price remarkably modest for these inflationary days. At times there are comments which I would question, as for example, that the civic and religious leaders "probably assessed the situation correctly" when they interpreted deviance as anarchical, or that the Anabaptists had an extreme concern for correctness in liturgy, or that the migration from Europe to America and the radical departure from Zwingli's program of reform should both be called "the greatest separation of all." At one point he uses the term "old Mennonites" but in the context it is probably the best designation he could have used even though it is held in disfavor by many members of the group so described.

Dr. Epp eminently demonstrates an ability to handle in a lucid and orderly manner both a mass of data and the ability to provide interpretive comment that makes for a remarkably readable and fascinating account of a people entering a new land. We shall look forward to the time when Volume Two picks up the story where it is here ended and with the same clarity and thoroughness reports the pilgrimage in the next hundred years.—G.C.S.

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People who Have Not the Wisdom

To Record their History

Will Not Long have the Virtues

To Make History Worth Recording;

And No People

Who are Indifferent to their Past

Need Hope to Make

Their Future Great.

—Jan Gleysteen

Mennonites and the Political Elections of 1856: Johannes Risser on Politics and the Slavery Issue

Ashland County, Ohio
March 30, 1857

Dearly beloved Brother-in-law
and Sister:

... On politics, dear Brother-in-law, I probably wrote you so much last year that you still have enough for this year. Only this much: In the last presidential election our politics relating to slavery received such a turn that it by no means has my approval and can never have it, for which our adoptive citizens bear much of the blame — the Irish, and also our Germans. The former allow themselves to be led by their clergy in the elections, who have more expectations for Catholicism from the Democratic Party and its presidential candidate, and these people therefore voted Democratic; and our German people are so firmly and adamantly attached to the Democratic Party that newspaper reporters find it easy to keep the vote favorable to the Democrats, even if the leaders are wrong and act absolutely undemocratically.

There is little to say about this matter as far as our German com-

mon folk is concerned; but the fact that so many of our German pastors who were educated in Germany are also Democratic — that is, they voted in favor of the spread of slavery — seems to be surprising and much could be said against it. I know of pastors who have preached vigorously and critically against slavery, but who spoke in favor of the Democratic Party and voted for it. I know of one who was educated in the Missionshaus in Basel who instead of being sent to the heathen was sent here, preached for several years, is a highly gifted man to whom six months before the election a call was given by Missouri Lutherans to become editor of a German paper already established, who in a similar way worked for the Democratic Party — as all our German smear papers did.

Thus it came about that in the last election the German Protestant church really and conspicuously differed from the English, since in all the anti-slavery states the latter unanimously voted Republican and against the spread of slavery, and

the former for the most part the opposite. As far as I know, this was the first election here in which the church people of the Protestant church were so united in favor of a political party, and if it had only been like that in the German church, this election which was so very important would probably have had a different outcome.

I find the fact, that this was the position of our German common people, quite natural. But that many of our educated Germans did the same seems to me to have the following basis. They begin with this argument: the Democratic Party has the best principles; and

In This Issue

This MHB issue includes a greater variety of themes and issues than is sometimes the case. Wilmer D. Swope, Leetonia, Ohio, captures the substance and spirit of one, specific ordination by lot, and sets his description and keen analysis within the larger historical perspective. Amos B. Hoover, Denver, Pennsylvania, supplies us, through a highly significant letter of 1920, with one brother's attempt to remain true to the basic idea of Christian discipleship (that is, following in the footsteps of Jesus) without falling into the pitfall of legalism: the issue centers in the question of the use of the automobile. Gerald C. Studer has reviewed a book which provides background to the current question of whether or not the government should grant amnesty and pardon to war resisters.

The lead materials, centering in the American election of 1856, show some rather deep insights into the nature of politics on the American scene—that the political shades of gray were perhaps as closely matched in the nineteenth century as they are in the twentieth. All important in the eyes of Johannes Risser, the author of these letters, is the need to check and balance the party in power. Joe Springer, Goshen, Indiana, in his short Risser biography, has supplied good background, reaching into European sources as well as American. There is reason to explore in still greater depth Johannes Risser the man, and his reflective insights into the political and social issues of his era.

even if some of its leaders and important men — perhaps even the President — have strayed onto a wrong path, the Party must nevertheless be preserved, since the Party still has enough of the most capable men to put everything in order again and repair any damage. But to believe that slavery would win out if Buchanan is elected — that was impossible for all these people to accept.

These people did not know and did not want to learn that in this country, if the government is working toward a wrong goal, the party in power, whatever its name, will continue to pursue that goal — since in this country there is no other means of stemming or changing the wrong than through another party which opposes the wrong goal, but for which the government and power must be created by a majority vote.

Our German adopted citizens had not yet learned this, but shall and must still learn it; and we have already today, unfortunately, clear indications that in the next four years much will happen which will preach that lesson emphatically, to the benefit of our entire folk. People want material wealth; and they want it even if an increase in wealth means spreading slavery even farther and farther. . . .

Ashland County, Ohio
January 4, 1858

Dear Brother-in-law and Sister:

. . . You will be really surprised to hear that at the time of our last presidential election I wrote a series of articles for a newspaper. Before this election, I was not much interested in our elections, and it would never have entered my mind to write on the subject. But in this election the matter at issue was whether our slave holders **have** and should have the right to go into the Territories with their slaves and create new slave states.

It could be taken for granted that all the slave states, rightly or wrongly, would vote for the spread of slavery, and since we had fifteen slave states and only six free states, there was little prospect of victory. Nevertheless I considered it the Christian duty of every citizen to work against slavery. And even though the pro-slavery party won

the last election, at least so much was accomplished that there is hope that they will be defeated in the next election. But win or lose, come what may, I would never cast a vote for the further spread of slavery, for I see in this affair a matter of conscience, as do all our children and relatives.

You are no doubt thinking that it can be taken for granted, especially among people who claim to be Christians, that they would vote against slavery. It can also be said that the great majority do think and act in this way. But still not all do so. To arouse your amazement even further, I will tell you that, for example, nearly all our Mennonites in Iowa voted for the Democrats, that is, for the spread of slavery. To understand this you must know that we have a free press, and the degree of lying, calumniating and defaming published in the papers to deceive the people can only be comprehended when one has seen and experienced it for a long time.

This evil work is carried to extreme especially in presidential elections because our president has so many remunerative offices to

give away that the total amounts to many millions, and the president as a rule gives the offices only to people who have worked for his election and have voted for him. Anyone who gets and reads only one paper of a political party is deceived; and our Germans, who have not been here very long and make up a large number of voters have in most cases such strong faith in a party bearing the name "Democratic" that they vote for it almost blindly, and many a year will have to pass before they learn that the name is only a name, and that one must take into consideration its principles and performance and not its name. It is possible that the election might have turned out differently if the German church had voted against slavery as decisively as the English.

* * *

[Daniel wrote] that in the South almost everyone who is well-to-do has slaves, if not 20 or 30 or 100, at least two or three. The cabins, their furnishings and convenience are mostly very inadequate, which is probably because ice and snow and continuing cold are unknown there. By keeping slaves people

Johannes Risser Letters on the Slavery Issue

Johannes Risser (1787-1867) was a minister in the Friedelsheim (Palatinate) Mennonite Congregation from 1825 to 1832, at which time he emigrated with his family to Ashland County, Ohio. He was an able letter writer as witnessed in collections located in the Archives of the Mennonite Church in Goshen, Indiana; and the German Mennonite Research Center at the Weierhof in the Palatinate.

During his thirty-five years in America, he seems to have been a central figure in many problems that beset both the German school and especially the Mennonite congregation that he had founded in Ashland County. In 1833 he started—and was the first preacher for—a congregation composed of recent German emigrants, which broke away from the more conservative group of settlers from Pennsylvania located there. He served until 1838 when he resigned. In 1844, he returned to preaching, but due to many and various problems was "in again, out again."

The congregation shared a building (the construction of which was begun in 1847) with a group of Protestants (Lutheran and Reformed), who were also German emigrants. Eventually a "union church" came into being which had little identity as a Mennonite congregation for about fifteen years, although there were apparently "Mennonite" members in addition to other Protestants who had joined the group. It appears as though none of the seven Risser children still living after the virtual dissolution of his Mennonite congregation remained Mennonites. Although he wrote a treatise, Glaube und Lehre von der Taufe der Mennoniten in Deutschland . . . (The Faith and Teachings Regarding Baptism, [as Held by] the Mennonites in Germany . . .), defending adult baptism (published in 1845 by Heinrich Eby in Kitchener, Ontario), it seems that in the 1850s he did not

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have far greater expenses than we. In good years they have a far higher income, but in poor crop years they have great losses and nearly everyone is deeply in debt. Nevertheless the Southerners are very generous. If one knows that a good slave costs \$800-\$1000 and must be supplied with food and clothing and medical care, one understands the great expense. Besides, the work of one good man here amounts to the work of about two slaves. He said people there are so accustomed to slaves that they consider them an absolute necessity for proper living, and that the people would fare badly during the first ten years after having to free their slaves. But, he said, there is hardly a man that does not believe firmly that slavery is ordained of God and exists legally; if anyone thinks otherwise he would scarcely dare to make his opinion known. But there are many slave holders who are good to their slaves and now and then one finds this arrangement: every family is assigned to a cabin where he is to live and is daily given the necessities for living. The cabins stand in a straight row with a larger building at each end, one of them used as a church

where a service is held every Sunday, and the other for dancing, where music is made every Sunday. Those who love to worship go to church, and those who prefer to dance to the dance hall, and many probably go to both. . . .

Ashland, Ohio
August 24, 1865

Dear Nephew Abraham Risser:

Your kind letter of July 12 reached us very quickly; we were sincerely glad to get it and will try to answer at once. . . . I am, however, planning to send it to you about four weeks from now, for the following reason: I have written an exposition of Genesis 9:20-27 that is now being printed and that will not be finished and shipped to me before that time. It is an explanation of Noah's curse, about which I have written a number of articles that appeared in print; I have discovered that here in America practically all the clergy of the Protestant churches oppose my views. Among them Professor Schaff was the only one who responded in a friendly and inquiring way and seemed willing to accept an article

from me and my latest article is now actually appearing in his paper.

I of course was very well aware that what I believe about this curse is the exact opposite of the views of all our expositors; but that apparently all the preachers who have studied theology would oppose me in this manner and even refuse to examine the question, this I by no means expected. But this experience made it clear to me that decades would pass before a trained theologian would risk contradicting our expositors on this point knowing that he would have the collective clergy as opponents; and since I was very well acquainted with the harmfulness of this traditional doctrine of the curse on our slaves, I finally came to the point where I felt it my calling to refute this doctrine, as briefly as possible but nevertheless very thoroughly. But however hard I worked at it and however persistently I prayed for light and wisdom, it still had to be reworked several times and it took quite a while before this article now being printed seemed finished, and no more new insights occurred to me. . . .

It is possible that I have not entirely hit upon the truth of Noah's curse; but I hope nevertheless that my article will move some great and learned men and believers to write on the subject and present a very thorough and clear exposition of this curse. . . .

—Translated by Elizabeth Horsch Bender (Hist. Mss. 1-10).

say "no" to infant baptism as might be expected, but rather, passively approved it. It would however appear that he himself did remain a "Mennonite," albeit outside a Mennonite congregation, until he died.

According to his gravestone in the Strickland Cemetery, located near his home, Risser died on August 9, 1867, aged 80-1-0, which would place his birthdate on July 9, 1787. A booklet by Fritz Braun on emigrants from the Friedelsheim Congregation, published in Germany in 1955, gives his birthdate as November 27, 1787. It could well be that the latter date is the correct one.

Published information on Johannes Risser may be found in the Mennonite Encyclopedia and in two articles in the Mennonite Quarterly Review. The ME article (IV, 341) follows an article on another Johannes Risser (1810-1868), a minister in Sembach (Palatinate), who was, as evidenced by the letters, a nephew of the emigrant Risser. John S. Umble's article, "Extinct Ohio Mennonite Churches: Ashland County (Part III in MQR, XX [1946], 5-52), is particularly interesting and informative. He lists the letters which are in the Goshen Archives. Don Yoder published translations of letters, which he discovered published in an older German newspaper, in the MQR (XXX [1956], 44-64. Those original letters as well as additional Risser letters (including pre-emigration letters) have since found their way into the archives at the Weierhof.

The three excerpts published in this issue show Risser's interest in the politics of the day (especially concerning slavery), a fitting lead article for an election-time issue of the MHB. As seen in these excerpts, Risser also wrote articles for a larger public, including a heretofore "unknown" article or pamphlet, apparently published in connection with Philipp Schaff, a prominent Reformed theologian and church historian of the nineteenth century. In addition, Risser wrote at least two articles on slavery which appeared in John H. Oberholtzer's religious journal, *Das Christliche Volksblatt*: "Enthält das alte Testament, das heilige Wort Gottes, eine Lehre oder nur einen entfernten Grund, welcher zu Gunsten unserer Sklaverei im Süden spricht?" ("Does the Old Testament, God's Holy Word, Contain a Precept or Only a Remote Argument Which Speaks in Favor of our Slavery in the South?"), (Vol. VI, Nr. 3 [Sept. 4, 1861]; and "Abschaffung der Sklaverei" ("Abolition of Slavery"), (Vol. VI, Nr. 5 [Oct. 2, 1861]). — Joe Springer

Mennonite Ordination by Means of the Lot: An Interpretive Report

WILMER D. SWOPE

On Sunday, February 15, 1976, two lot-ordinations were consummated within a biblical perspective and an early Apostolic context at the Hartville Conservative (non-conference) Mennonite Meetinghouse at 10515 North Market Street, Hartville, Ohio. Due to the ever practical biblical custom of keeping the church well supplied with leaders, and given the advanced age of the present bishop, Roman Miller, at Miller's request, plans were made to give the congregation a junior bishop to assist and succeed the aging bishop.

A carefully planned Bible conference on "The Ministry and Ordination" was scheduled for the week of February 8-15. It is profitable to take note of Acts 1:14-15, where a conference with prayer and suppli-

cation also preceded the choice and ordination of Matthias. The disciples and their brethren were faithful with prayer and supplication to Christ, the head of the church, for his revealing and leading in the supply of a full number of leaders in the church. (May there be that simple workable faith in all of us which was manifested in the disciples and their brethren as recorded in the first chapter of Acts!)

Two able non-conference bishops were called in to assist in the work of the lot-ordination. The brethren, Bishop Kenneth Brenneman of Milbank, Ontario, and Bishop Homer Miller of Wakarusa, Indiana, delivered biblical, practical, and spiritual admonitions to the congregation during the conference.

On Saturday evening, February 14, votes were taken to gather nominees for the lot. Three quarters of an hour passed during which time members of the congregation above the age of eighteen, in good membership standing, went singly into the council room. It was announced that all members were to have a part in the work; if they did not choose to confide a name to the ministers, they could wish the Lord's blessing on the work. While the brothers and sisters waited before going through the council room, bench by bench, as directed by the appointed ushers, the congregation informally sang hymns of inspiration—reverently, softly and in a prayerful context of spirituality. Prayer was frequent and much resorted to. The result was announced that all four of the local ministers were nominees in the casting of the lot, to take place the following day at the meetinghouse. These were: Elmer Gingerich, Simon Sommers, Urie Sharp and Leon King.

On Sunday morning, February 15, following a message by Bishop Kenneth Brenneman, Bishop Homer Miller took charge of casting the lot. Four new, unused hymnbooks of equal size and with tight bindings were given to a visiting minister to take to the council room, where he placed them on a bench; upon returning he then led out in prayer. A second visiting minister was asked to take a slip of paper on which Bishop Homer Miller had written the verse from Acts 1:24 (transposed to read: "Shew whether of these four Thou hast chosen") into the council room, where he was to place the slip into one of the four hymnbooks lying on the bench. He was to place the slip at hymn number one-hundred, making sure that it was not visible or discernible from the outside. He was then to shuffle the books, bring them out to the

main room of the meetinghouse, and place them as follows: they were to lie flat on the table before the nominees' bench, one as the base, another above it to its left, the third above the first, to its right, and the fourth, in line with the first, just above the other two. In this manner, the four hymnbooks fashioned a cross.

The four nominees with their companions were seated on a bench before the pulpit platform. The nominees were invited by Bishop Kenneth Brenneman to come forward and take their books; they came forward, took the book of their choice, returned to the bench, and remained standing. Then the books were opened in the order of the age of the brother holding each book (the oldest brother's book first). The lot-slip was found in the book of the last and youngest brother to come forward, Minister Leon King.

One is reminded of the saying that all men are humbled at the foot of the cross. Here were four servants of God waiting in subjection for the placing by God of "Elijah's mantle" on the servant whom God would call for this special service in the Lord's kingdom and his church. One of the questions always asked of the nominees was whether they would cheerfully accept God's calling through the lot of someone other than themselves. Perhaps some of the others in the lot may yet be destined to receive a Macedonian call.

Leon and his companion were asked by Bishop Homer Miller to kneel while the bishops laid hands on Leon. (Bishop Homer Miller emphasized that having the sisters (companions) present with their minister-husbands was not an ordination of women into the ministry).

Directly following the bishop-ordination, the voice of the congregation was taken for the selection of nominees for minister, with the same procedure followed as that for the bishop. The result of the voting was that Eugene Sommers and Mervin Wagler were announced as the nominees.

One of the visiting ministers closed the meeting with the surprise sharing of a revelation received from the Lord during a wakeful period in the night several weeks previously. Similar to the Lord's dealing with Samuel in the still of the night, the Lord revealed to him that as the Lord's choice the lot would fall upon Leon King. But the visiting minister protested to the Lord: But Lord, Brother Leon is not as fluent a speaker as Brother _____, or a scholar like Brother _____, or as experienced as

Brother _____. But each time the Lord assured him that Brother Leon King was His choice. This sharing with the brothers and sisters of a deep spiritual revelation from the Lord was like a heavenly benediction attended by ministering spirits who assist the saints with worship (Hebrews: 1:14), a profound modern day heavenly experience in the pilgrimage of God's people.

The evening service was widely attended. The meetinghouse was packed with perhaps seven or eight hundred people. Some forty ordained ministers were in attendance. The same careful method and procedure was again followed. Acts 1:24 was used, as found in the Scriptures, for the lot-slip; this time, however, the two books were placed, flat, side by side. The slip was found in Eugene Sommer's book. Ministers from various Mennonite groups were used in the servant-details of the lot ordination; the laying on of hands was shared by Conservative Mennonite and Beachy bishops.

Historically the lot was cast in the Jewish Temple to select, day by day, a priest to serve in the daily worship services of the Temple. The lot was also used early in Jewish history to choose the High Priest; later the office was transformed into a pawn to be bought and sold for money. One of the prayers found in the Qumran Dead Sea Scrolls seems to be one of the lost-formulae prayers which had been used at the casting of the lot at the Temple in Jerusalem, preserved by the spiritually minded community at Qumran, but forgotten by main line Judaism.

Hugo Grotius, the renowned Dutch biblical historian and commentator relates the tradition that at the casting of the lot for the successor for Judas' apostleship, two slips of writing material were rolled or crumpled, each into a ball, with only one carrying a message, and each placed into an earthen pottery vessel from which the two nominees, Matthias and Justus, drew forth; the lot fell upon Matthias.

A Mennonite minister (John Leatherman of California) has been working on a scholarly work on the use of the lot historically, both in the church and within temporal government. It is to be hoped that this work soon will be completed and published.

It is interesting to observe that regardless of whether it is a Mennonite, an Amish, or an Amish-Mennonite lot-ordination, great care is exercised to conceal the lot-slip from observation or detection by the

nominees' eyes. In the ordination at Hartville, new, stiff, tightly-closing, unused hymnbooks were employed. In the Wisler Mennonite church, rubber bands are used to keep the books tightly closed. In the Hagerstown (Maryland) area, a well-known Mennonite bishop, after deep study and thought, determined that the slip was least discernible when placed between the book's front-end sheet and the first page. In earlier days, hymn books with fastened brass clasps were used to keep the books tightly closed.

In the Old Order Mennonite Church in Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, the hymn, "Wer nur den lieben Gott lässt walten," found in the *Unparteiisches Gesangbuch* and authored by George Neumark, is used as an ordination hymn, an English translation of which is to be found as number 104 in *The Christian Hymnary* (edited by Overholt). Mennonites in pioneer days in Ohio used Psalm 16:6 as a lot-slip verse, which reads, in English translation from the German: "The lot has fallen in pleasant places." It is known to have been used in the lot-ordination of Jacob Nold for deacon in Columbiana County before 1835.

In 1853 in Mahoning County, Ohio, the ministers brought back a fleeing nominee for minister, who attempted to flee, much as Jonah had done, from God's call. The chase took place on horseback, the fleeing nominee caught up with, and brought back to the meeting; and indeed, the lot fell upon his shoulders, and he went on to serve faithfully the longest term a minister had ever served in his congregation.

Soli deo gloria (to God be the glory), as Mennonite and Amish churches work carefully to be obedient to God and to remain apostolic, following in the footsteps of the early church as recorded in the book of the Acts.

The Automobile Issue Among the Old Order Mennonites: 1920

The following letter was written to Old Order Mennonite Bishop John Dan Wenger of Virginia, by a pro-auto Old Order minister of Lancaster County, John Kurtz. Kurtz died in 1927, two weeks before the brotherhood split, the Horning faction permitting the auto. —Amos B. Hoover.

(Hoover, who supplied this document for publication, is a leading Old Order and Horning Mennonite historian who resides near Denver,

Pennsylvania. Words enclosed in brackets have been added by the editor to help clarify a rather complex text; words in parentheses are original words which seem superfluous to the meaning of the text. —L.G.)

Ephrata, Pennsylvania
September 14th, 1920

Dear Brother and Sister in [the]
Faith:

First a greeting of love and well wishing in our Master's name, who was willing to bear our sins and shortcomings so that we can have a free access to the throne of grace and finally be numbered with those in white raiment. We are [as] usual well, hoping and wishing [that] you are the same. I truly feel glad that you had paid us a visit, as it is more natural and creates more love when we see the brethren face-to-face and [it enables us] to build up each other in the holy faith.

But to our sorrow, two or three got autos, and that [is] yet just as the world; but I also heard that one talked of putting it away again. I told you several times that you don't know the position here [that] we are in. So I will try and inform you and give my view. I preached at funerals and otherwise against the auto and other extravagancies and took the apostles for [an] example, who had only a staff, no special clothing to preach in, etc., and stated, in regard to getting around filling appointments, (and) that we had no right to go further than the word. For all offering not brought in the right way is an abomination and not a blessing, and obedience is more than sacrifice; and that we would better go to heaven with a staff only than by using other means of getting around.

But I [have] seen that **that** preaching does not bring fruit, because I was not in the position — as [= for] the husbandman shall first partake of the fruit — [that I would have been,] if I had sold or stripped or left all worldly possession and would have taken a cloth and cut holes for the neck and arms and made common sleeves and tied it around the body and put sandals on — as those that cast stones should have clean hands and be free, or they condemn themselves. But my eyes were touched the second time, that [they] can see plainly and not see men like trees walking. Christ sent out his apostles in a simple way and said that they should not go in the ways of the Gentiles; [he] had appointed them or chosen [them] out of the world,

but they were no more of the world and should preach repentance and conversion, to learn of him and teach them to observe all what he commanded them.

Now in regard to material things, we read of leprosy; it came on the body in the houses and clothing and so it is yet today. It represents sin. It appears on the body like [the] mustache, hair cutting, combing, etc., and in the clothing and in the houses — too much after the world which they have not learned of [= from] Christ. Shall we condemn all [of this]? Was not all that we have [at] one time gotten up by worldly people and highly esteemed among men? We must consider leprosy — when it had covered the whole body they were pronounced clean; so in material things when it is [found] all over or common, it is clean for us or else we would condemn our forefathers and ourselves.

Over or about 100 years ago when the first man came to [the] Weaverland church on a cart with a chair on because of him [being] too weighty (for) to ride on a horse, (but) some were very much opposed but could not pronounce it leprosy or sin. Then later they got one with wooden springs — but at first only the puffed-up and "high-heads" had them. But soon they were common for our people. And about 70 years ago the steel springs came; those were considered wrong. And in a few years the same people got them and said they are more common now. When my father was single he got a buggy without [a] top and had it a long time that I know of and rode in; the rockaway came later, and when I came to the ministry I got one that a Presbyterian had got for his use but [they] were out of date so much that there were few in our church. And about 10 years before or when they came up [= first came into being], some thought they should not be allowed and when the fallen top buggies came, some thought George Weaver (bishop) should positively not allow them, but did not. But they had their trouble in all these things—so also in clothing. Men and women have changed even in our—what we call "plain." We need not go far back when it was the soldier's coat, but now they are common so that we can hardly get our ministers to wear them. So in all changes there is also trouble. So it also was in [the] line of machinery. When the sewing machine came, a woman [said] to an old deacon [and said] that this devil machine should not be allowed. But he said it is not the machine but

those that use it for ruffling, etc.— that is, in the people. And so with all farm machinery and tractions [= tractional] engines: some would not allow [them] and others rejoiced, as this would now take off or release the horses. And so it is now with the tractors. And when the railroad was first built, some were so in favor and even Bishop George Weaver took stock and so helped to build [it] because it relieved the horses, although it had its dark and worldly side. So with the trolley: many supported them in building and now most — if not all [brethren] support them by using [them] which is all in one chain.

I just gave sketches of the above; it would make a book to go in deep. When I came to conference 17 years ago this fall, then it was said there that the conference is the head of the church; but (he) [the speaker] stumbled and said Christ is also the head of the church. He said further that the conference is to make decisions and what the conference does is right. I and Bishop Jonas Martin and Deacon Daniel Burkholder claimed that we went too far, that the conference is to live up to the word of God, and that only is what binds and looses, and brought it in with the strongest and most emphatic words, that cursed is the man that takes flesh for his arm, that we are to keep the doctrine Christ brought which was [what the] Apostles taught, and to build on conference decisions would be serving our own bodies and not our Lord. The Catholic doctrine is that they are the right church and have the key of binding, and God would sanction what they would do or make; but our confession of faith — also Menno Simon's as well — as we [stated it] 27 years ago and since, [says] that the word is the only [foundation] to go by, and what this doesn't bind is vanity.

Now in regard to the machine or all [things] in the auto line — as some want to have it carried out, or [on the other hand] condemned (but) — what does the word say? That we shall not condemn so that we are not condemned. This auto decision is the "shackiest" I ever saw; when a wind blows or a fox runs against [it], it shatters. Just think of it, even the bishops — some when [away] from home — hire autos to get around, and another had chosen the auto because it was warmer than the carriage. Another talked hard against [it] and before midnight or about midnight was an auto victim. But we can see with Peter how it is if men build on themselves though they say they stand at the pain of death. Just consider the

bishops as well as the members and ministers: when they get in a "ditch," then they go for the auto and [the] members that talked so hard against it and want to have put back such that have [a] truck or even run a truck. Then they take trips with those very machines and men who[m] they put back, or consented [= upheld]. Now this includes nearly [all], if not all, that supported one way or the other, and got the full benefit.

He that is joined to a harlot is one body at home or abroad. The word makes no difference, and no circumstances or such doctrine would soon make such things necessary. When the spies came to Jericho, a harlot took them in, but not to lust; for she was converted. Her confession and works proved it. And David did not eat idols' meat. What did Christ and the apostles say in regard to such things? By the fruit ye shall know the tree! Now as stated above, that the fruit is so sweet and good in time of need, will we condemn ourselves by condemning a good tree? Some might say they are too stylish. Then they must be converted and made common to suit to our confession — not to cut members off and let others have or get the fruit.

Others may say it gives too much chance to go to forbidden places. The chances are here for the trolley goes to all those places, and with horse and buggy [one can get there as well] — and others can walk. Or did Christ mean when he said, Cut off [your] hand, foot, and pluck [out your] eye, that we should do so, [so] that they could not enjoy or get to such places? Or did he preach true repentance and conversion? No one believes that a converted heart will use its members to go to any illfame[d] (or) place contrary to the word.

The reason I think that a plain truck should be allowed, or that line [of machinery] is because they are in general use in our churches. This was, yes, done (it) as hypocrisy-connected: members [were] put back, and [yet] the auto stays. A great part of the tobacco was hauled by truck and [by] many of such that stand back from the church and such other things.

Who[m] shall we take for our counselors, the old or the young? The old had it 40 years ago: if some or any get proud or vain, they should be visited and pointed to humility — that is, to Christ. Our bishop never was in favor to make it or have it the way it is. Two years ago he was so pressed and loaded down and got sick and taken

to the hospital in an auto and there in prayer and waited for the end of his journey. Then an angel appeared to him and [he] also heard a voice that there would be nothing for such that trust in their own — not that I believe in worshipping angels, but if an angel tells us and points us to Christ alone, then I think we should consider it.

Now if you want my full view, you press in your mind in reading these lines that I don't want to know anything else but Jesus Christ and him crucified. And keep this in your mind as if it were written in between every line. And also consider Matt. 7:17-18, Luke 6:44, James 3:11-12, Matt. 7:1, Luke 6:37, Rom. 2:1, Rom. 14:22-23, Col. 2:8, 18 & 20, [and] Rev. 22:18. The above references point to Christ, and that God requires from us what we require, or the bishop from the members, and that the bishop have clean hands and not be entangled in the things they judge, or they pronounce it against themselves.

I must do my part, but each one has to give an account himself to God. So I can easily bear with them and will do like Paul: keep my body under, so that when I preach(ed) [to] others I am not cast away.

If a bishop in our day would have the true love of God and use His word only and set back all that have the appearance of pride, covetousness, selfwill, [and] would search the houses, conveyances, clothing, and their way of dealing, etc., he would have a small flock; but I also feel [one has] to have forbearing.

If you get tired to read it all, [I hope] you can get so much out [of it] that I am satisfied with Christ[us] word. [May] all come to conference and work that we get things in shape, [and] that we all can live up to [Christ's word] and not only [be] a stumbling block for all to stumble at and fall.

All in love,
J. S. & Maria Kurtz

Book Reviews

War Resisters Canada. By Kenneth Fred Emerick. Knox, Pennsylvania: Free Press, 1972. 320 pp. \$4.95.

[Editor's note: This review should have been published in 1972, when *War Resisters Canada* was published. Because of its length, it was set back, but retained in the MHB "active book-review file" in the intervening years. Although certain illustrations in the review seem dated—some ideas having an

ironic ring in the year, 1976—MHB feels the review of this book, as it appears below, merits publication at this time. —L.G.]

War Resisters Canada tells the story of the world of the American military-political refugees. Frankly, the sadness this reviewer feels as he attempts to describe this book grows out of his impression that the great majority of Americans, Christian and non-Christian, are either so biased against or so indifferent to this phenomenon that they prefer a position of "out of sight, out of mind." To a lamentable extent, it appears that Americans in general, including the parents of the resisters who have gone to Canada, have acclimated themselves to membership in the "silent majority" either by reason of preoccupation with other interests or the gradual sedative effect of the military-political position of our nation. That it is happening "in the best of families" is illustrated by the fact that the nephew of Spiro Agnew and the son of former Secretary of the Interior Stewart Udall have both deserted to Canada not to mention the conspicuous fact that almost none of the sons of congressmen have been involved in the tragic events in Vietnam.

Ex-Green-Beret Donald Duncan has commented that "General Hershey may rank third only to Horace Greeley and Moses as an initiator of mass migration." To date, there are 500 military resisters in Sweden plus hundreds more in France, Japan, and England, beside the 60,000 to 100,000 who have gone to Canada. Thousands more have slipped into the anonymity of the underground and still more thousands languish in Allenwood Prison or its equivalent for refusal of induction and related draft violations. And not incidentally, a substantial percentage of the resisters in both Sweden and Canada are veterans of the Vietnam conflict.

The author has chosen to use the term "resister" in reference to both the refugee from the armed forces and the draft resister. This is a deliberate attempt on his part to avoid the contemptuous connotations of such terms as "draft dodger" or "deserter" in the States. Although the author's facts and opinions are drawn from his own extensive investigation of the situation, he has no doubt wisely buttressed his observations and conclusions by reference to the carefully recorded verbatim responses of what he calls "the Maple Leaf 33" which includes five Vietnam survivors.

Author Emerick literally lived with these resisters for much of two

summers and manifests excellent qualifications for this study both by temperament and skills. He is assistant professor-librarian at Clarion (Pa.) State College with a library degree from Rutgers. The Foreword is by Monsignor Charles Owen Rice, a Pittsburgh parish priest, serving a ghetto church at his own request. He affirms, as to these resisters, that "one by one they realized that what was being pressed on them as noble duty was senseless and evil. . . . One by one they performed acts of courage in leaving the Armed Forces or in refusing to join; they knowingly risked loss of the magic Americanism that they had been trained to accept as the most precious thing in the world."

These men are found to exemplify many positive qualities. They are proportionately more highly educated than their counterparts who have not migrated. They are not beatniks or bums and they are making contributions to Canada that could have been made in the States, and that is very sad for the U.S.A. The resister is potentially a greater asset in a political and social sense than many immigrants since he moves, not out of economic considerations only but, out of moral, political, and social convictions. These men are in Canada for reasons that go far beyond their disgust with military service and the war in Indochina. These they regard as only two of the symptoms of a series of major organic ailments in the American system. Resisters are quite critical of their own fellows and condemn with indignation the use of drugs or resorting to any kind of crime. There is a strong social pressure among them to keep their record as nearly spotless as possible. They have as little patience with what they consider hypocrisy in their elders as they do with a cop-out among their peers.

These men are quick to point out the inconsistency of persons who are sympathetic to the Czech refugee but critical of the American who leaves the States for the same reason. He will remind you that the Pilgrims were conscientious objectors to certain forms of oppression and that many of our grandfathers fled Europe in the seventeen and eighteen hundreds to escape military conscription. They are inclined to say feelingly, "Democracy in today's America is a myth. What's the difference between the Russians, who can't dissent, and the Americans who won't dissent?" The fact is that for the first time in decades more Americans were immigrating to Canada in 1968 and 1969 than the reverse. The author summarizes

that "the American people must soon choose to recognize the state of their scene and react quickly and decisively to bring major fundamental change . . . , or hide behind an even louder bellicosity, and still greater numbers of guns and flag decals." He further observes that it is becoming almost as necessary to display the flag "in the land of the free" as it was to exhibit the swastika in Germany. The reader is reminded that Huey Long once declared that if fascism came to America it would be on a program of Americanism!

It is despicable that the American news media is so jaundiced in its reporting concerning these refugees. Most of the very limited published material on resisters has been negative, if not condemnatory or even, defamatory. Articles have usually been based on the bizarre, no matter how unrepresentative. The accuracy of this generalization becomes apparent when the American press releases are compared to those in Canadian publications. The Canadian counterparts generally avoid distortion, misrepresentation, and exaggeration, since the Canadian writer apparently has no national consensus to satisfy.

True, many of these resisters have not acted out of overt Christian convictions but their views coincide to a remarkable degree with the fundamental convictions regarding human values and life that radical Christianity teaches. This book contains many quotations recorded by the author during his conversations and discussions with hundreds of resisters. Interspersed among their pungent remarks are all-too-many obscene expletives to suit many potential readers. Perhaps if it is not an initial bias or indifference on the part of the potential reader that will cause many to never seriously examine this book, the language may accomplish the same end result; and while this may be sort of a stumbling block—some of us who are over forty are not used to such "punctuation" and see no reason to get used to it, yet we are the losers if we allow this to prevent us from calmly hearing out these men.

With the exception of the inclusion of a smattering of obscenities, and quite a few typographical errors, this book can be highly recommended for both the close Christian and the more general American populace. I would like to think that Emerick could have found several of the larger publishers ready to publish his book though I have no objection whatever to its having been published by the Knox, Pennsylvania Free Press, provided this

is not inimical to its receiving wide review and reading. —G.C.S.

Every Need Supplied. Edited by Donald F. Durnbaugh. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1974. \$15.00. 258 pp.

This is the first title published in the Documents in Free Church History series edited by Franklin H. Littell and George H. Williams. The continuing growth of interest in the Radical Reformation reflects not only the response of scholars to the discovery and publication of new primary source materials but also the shifting center of gravity in world Christianity. For on the mission fields and among the younger churches, there is a pronounced desire to recapture and relive the spirit and life of the Christianity described in the New Testament. This is bringing into prominence many practices now considered modern and ecumenical which were already adhered to by the Free Churches that emerged alongside the established churches of Reformation days, both Protestant and Catholic. Each volume in this series will be a source book of Free Church documents gathered around a major theme and introduced in each case with an editor's brief introduction placing each document in its historical context.

The facet of the Free Church view receiving particular attention in this volume is mutual aid and Christian community as it was defended and practiced during the years 1525-1675. Unlike Catholicism and the major ecclesiastical traditions growing out of the Reformation, the Free Churches were committed to be responsive to the material as well as the spiritual needs of their members. This earned the radical reformers and their followers only infamy and the most diligent and cruel persecution during that first century and a half whereas today this emphasis is receiving great attention precisely because it is seen as highly relevant for today's world. (Forthcoming volumes in this series will focus on other significant themes of the Radical Reformation such as religious liberty, the status of women, revolution, and the inter-relatedness between the Free Churches and the developing democratic forms of government.)

Included in this volume are selections relevant to the topic from the earliest documents of the Anabaptists, Munsterites, Mennonites, Hutterites, Polish Brethren, Collegiants, English Baptists, and the Society of Friends. The careful reader will note broad similarities as to spirit and content but also a few

particular differences within the radical wing. The editor appropriately includes in an appendix the test of Carlstadt's Ordinance of the Common Chest even though it originated outside the Free Church. Here as in some other noteworthy cases the seed of this conviction of the Radical Reformation is found in the writings of the major Protestant Reformers but never bore fruit.

One gets the feeling in reading through these materials that these writers, to use a crude phrase, had a "tiger by the tail" which they could scarcely guide but which they could not in good conscience let go. They took the consequences with an abandon and a rare singleness of heart which suggests that devotion to truth gives an exquisite reward and an inner strength and joy that is all but incomprehensible to the compromising majority.

Personally I found the Hutterite "Five Articles . . ." the strongest defense of communalism I have ever read and John Smyth's "Principles and Inferences . . ." though exhaustively laced with biblical references, yet nevertheless the most disappointing material in the entire collection. Some of these documents reflect a context and are in a style of writing that is scarcely intelligible today as, for instance, Peter Cornelius Plockhoy's "An Invitation to the . . . Little Commonwealth," yet I have long been intrigued by the story of his short-lived experiment on the Delaware River.

A variety of fascinating side-lights surface in these writings that are secondary to the primary theme, for example, comments on the maximum size of a Free Church congregation, or the appropriateness of both mundane brotherhood business and spiritual worship being provided for in the same service, or the need for caution in the distribution of alms, or the different understandings of the phrase in Mt. 5:24: "Leave there thy gift before the altar," or "the unclear meaning of the phrase found repeatedly in George Fox's writings having to do with "preserving creation," or the lack of agreement as to the extent of Christian tolerance and communalism, let alone the passing mention of daily communion!

This book has the careful footnoting, bibliography, and indices that we have come to expect from such careful scholars as Durnbaugh, Littell, and Williams. —G.C.S.

The Peaceful People: A Photographic Profile of the Amish. By William L. Martin. Edited by David E. Sill. Published by the author, 1975. 32 pp. \$2.50, post-

age paid, from the author (15 Clover Lane, Mechanicsburg, PA 17055. In lots of 125, only .90¢ each, plus postage.

Bill Martin is a native Lancaster Countian (Pennsylvania) who has had twenty-one years of experience as a news cameraman for television. He states his purpose with appropriate simplicity: "I want to show the Amish in a true light to visually explain their peaceful qualities."

This large-format paperback contains thirty-one pictures — many aptly captioned with biblical quotations. Whatever his competence in understanding the Amish, Martin has confined himself to a selection of photographs with a sparing use of well-chosen lines from Scripture. He has attempted no historical sketch and no interpretation whatever — a wise decision!

This book is a library or coffee-table piece for casual readers. What brief text there is, is in the form of a recommendation of the contents and is written by the editor. Four pictures (including the cover) are printed in blue tone; all others are in black-and-white. —G.C.S.

Day of Disaster. By Katie Funk Wiebe. Scottdale, Pa. and Kitchener, Ontario: Herald Press, 1976. 208 pp. Paperback. \$1.95.

This volume, one of the "Herald Press Original" paperbacks, is a semi-popular history of the twenty-five-year-old Mennonite Disaster Service. The book is introduced by Senator Birch Bayh, who says: "It may be too soon to call Mennonite Disaster Service a legend, but . . . the story of MDS is as unselfish as it is amazing. It is an inspiration to us all. . . ." Here is a story of a quiet, yet nonetheless worthy witness in the name of the Christian church.

We quote from a Herald Press publicity sheet: "An idea born at a Mennonite picnic mushroomed into an international force for constructive help to those in sudden need. The Mennonite Disaster Service, with a paid staff of one, has won the commendation from the President of the United States and is recognized by Congress as a key voluntary agency alongside the Red Cross and the Salvation Army."

Although the book is set up for the non-Mennonite reader, it should also be read by members of the Mennonite church, for the volume documents a rather effective approach to working at social concerns, one aspect of the Christian witness that has been central to the Mennonite faith since the birth of the movement 451 years ago. —L.G.